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THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON FEMALE CRIMINALITY

by



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A THESIS

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Theoretical Perspectives On Female Criminality" submitted by Tracy L. Rollack in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines literature pertaining to two theories on female criminality and studies designed to test these theories. On the one hand is the masculinization theory of female criminal behavior; this theory states that as females become emancipated from their traditional roles they will proceed to adopt masculine modes of behavior and that this change in behavior will include a greater variation and frequency in criminal behavior. On the other hand is the role validation theory of female criminality; this theory states that women have in the past participated in criminal behavior reflective of their traditional sex roles and this will continue to be the nature of criminal behavior on the part of women in the future.

Data were gathered from Alberta Crime Reports for the years 1962 through 1977. These data were analyzed for trends in the criminal behavior of women over time and in relation to the trends for men. Data were also collected from 40 women inmates in Alberta Correctional Institutions; these data were to support the official statistical crime reports.

The findings of this study suggest that in Alberta, between 1962 and 1977, the pattern of female criminal behavior has not changed significantly. Only for the offence category "theft under \$200" were there significant changes over time. Whether or not emancipation has occurred in Alberta, its' effects have not yet been observed in the criminal behavior of Alberta women.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is, first of all, to review the theoretical and empirical literature on female criminality. Secondly, using Alberta data, a test will be made of some of the notions presented in the literature review.

Generally, there are two distinguishable but overlapping orientations concerning female crime; on the one hand, there are the masculinization, liberation, role reversal theories and on the other hand are the role validation theories.

The masculinization theory, as defined in this project is best illustrated by the works of Adler (1975) and Simon (1975). Adler was an initial proponent of a new alternative theory to the old "sexist, racist and class bound theories." Essentially, these new theories claim that as opportunities for women in the general society increase (that is, as our society becomes more equal) their opportunities for committing various types of crimes will also increase. That is, women will increasingly be responsible for a large number of traditionally "masculine" types of crimes; for example, white collar crimes such as embezzlement. Some authors predict that violent offences on the part of women - such as armed robbery and assault will also increase (Adler, 1975) - although this is a controversial point. Even though statistical evidence exists to support these increases, such as Adler's claim that female crime is increasing in all categories "at alarming rates", critics (cf. Crites, 1977; Klein and Kress, 1975; and Mukherjee and Fitzgerald, 1978) and even supporters (cf. Simon, 1975) point out

with the same data that female offence rates are rising only for certain property crimes - specifically theft and fraud, traditional "feminine" types of criminal offences for women to commit.

Alternatively, the role validation model regards female criminal behavior as an illegitimate form of expressing traditional gender roles ascribed to women (Hoffman-Bustemante, 1973; Hagan, Simpson and Gillis, 1978) rather than a symbolic expression of increasing "masculinity". That is, women commit crimes parallel to acceptable everyday behavior; the shopper becomes the shoplifter, etc.

The "official" data for this study have been taken from the Alberta Arrest Statistics for the years 1962 through 1977. These data are supplemented by information provided by 40 female inmates from Alberta Correctional Institutions who consented to interviews. Items relating attitudes of these women to society and their orientations in terms of gender roles and social positions as women were designed. Evaluations of the respective theories have been made using both the arrest and the interview data. It must be noted, however, that these findings are limited to Alberta and one must be careful of extrapolating conclusions to other provinces or areas.

Until the last decade, with few exceptions, criminological explanations have been couched in terms of males. Recent "female based" theory has experienced a relative paucity of substantive empirical research. From those studies to date, the most conclusive have been selected and summarized and have provided the foundation for the methods of analyses used here as well as the hypotheses.

The next chapter offers a review of empirical and theoretical

literature in order to isolate some notions which may be testable with the available data. Chapter Three presents the first part of the data analyses. The data are the Alberta Arrest Statistics in conjunction with census data and shall be presented as criminal offences by sex per 100,000 population for persons over the age of 17 years. The rates for the sexes shall be compared as proportions of male to female offences per crime category - once again based on 100,000 populations per sex. The purpose of using these data is to determine change or stability in crime rates over time, specifically the female crime rates; once the trends for the time period considered have been described, results will be related to empirical work carried out by others (as presented in Chapter Two).

Chapter Four will present and discuss the data obtained from inmates in correctional institutions. The data have been gathered as a supplement to the "official data". This method is also partially a replication of Adler (1975).

By using the data presented in Chapter Three and Four it is hoped that we can provide a modest contribution to our knowledge about female crime. After the separate analysis of the two types of data we will present conclusions regarding contemporary theory as presented in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORY AND RESEARCH

MASCULINIZATION

Currently, the dominant form of masculinization theory is best named women's liberation theory in order to differentiate it from the extremes of the traditional masculinization hypotheses as represented by Lombroso and Freud. Many authors (especially Adler, (1975;1977); and Simon (1975;1976)) contend that women are being arrested more frequently now than in the past and that this change is correlated with the women's movement. The women's movement is seen as responsible for the nascent economic independence and increased psychological liberation of the female. As a result of the change in society involving the "emancipation of women", women develop patterns of "behavior in keeping with their adoption of male roles " (Adler, 1975:95).

In fact, Adler says that women are committing more aggressive and violent crimes as a reflection of this new psychological independence. The same authors also contend that women are moving toward more sophisticated white-collar crimes, such as embezzlement, as a result of increased employment in positions of responsibility.

Adler's liberation theory proposes that "the social revolution of the 60's has virilized its previously or presumably docile female segment" (Adler, 1975:87), accompanying this is an "increasing masculinization of female social and criminal behavior " (Adler, 1975:42).

"In the same way that women are demanding equal opportunity in fields of legitimate endeavor, a similar number of determined women are forcing their way into the world of major crimes " (Adler, 1975:13)

Thus, the movement of sexual equalization is responsible for the "emergence of the new female criminal."

"Economic, political, medical and technical advances have released females from unwanted pregnancies, unfettered them.... equipped them with male occupational skills, and equalized their strength with weapons " (Adler, 1977:102). Furthermore, "as women gain entrance to the professional occupational and social world, with all of its liabilities and assets, they are also subjected to the same temptations, stresses and frustrations to which men have fallen prey historically...that the social and emotional concomitants of emersion into the heretofore male worlds are just as powerful as the technical equalizers is dramatically evidenced by the steadily changing criminal behavior of females throughout the world " (Adler, 1977: 103).

For Adler, the rise of the aggressive and violent female is one of the results associated with the rise of the female consciousness. Alternatively, Simon states that "... (we can) expect that one of the major by-products of the women's movement will be a higher proportion of women who pursue careers in crime. We should also expect changes in the particular types of crimes to which they will be attracted, and the roles they will perform within the criminal subculture... (we should expect that they will) engage in the types of crimes which their occupations provide them with the greatest opportunities."

they state that:

"it is most likely in the non-violent property crime areas that increased female involvement in extra-familial roles would have the greatest positive effects...The positive effects of female participation in extra-familial roles, measured here by female labor force participation rates and post secondary degree rates, on female theft conviction rates suggests that the exposure to opportunities for the commission of this type of crime may be an important factor. That is, as females become more involved in extra-familial roles they are exposed to increased opportunities for crime and this appears particularly relevant for the category of property crime and more specifically for theft".

On the other hand, they contend (similar to Adler) that:

"as the social roles of females begin to converge to a greater extent with those of males, females will also be subjected to increased amounts of strain. More specifically, as females become more involved in the extra-familial roles, formerly restricted to a much greater extent to males, they may also become subjected to greater pressures for achievement, success upward/mobility, etc."

The authors conclude that:

"in light of the above, it is somewhat surprising that female labor force participation rates did not have a stronger effect particularly on theft conviction rates" (Fox and Hartnagel, f.c.).

Many authors support the opportunity theory:

"an explanation for the distribution of female offences may be that as a reflection of other basic demographic changes related to women's role in our society. As women increase their participation in the labor force, their opportunity to commit certain types of crime also increases. The propensity for women to commit crimes, then, may not differ markedly from that of men, but in the past their opportunities were more limited. As their opportunities increase, so will the likelihood that they will commit crimes. A review of the international statistics indicates that the ranking of the United States and the nations of Western Europe in larceny and fraud are consistent with the hypothesis that in those countries where women are more likely to be employed in commercial and white-collar positions and to enjoy legal and social rights, they are also more likely to engage in property crime and economic types of crimes " (Price, 1977:104).

(Also Bartel, 1979; Steffensmeier, 1978; Hoffman-Bustemante, 1973, and many others).

(also that they will) become partners and entrepreneurs in crime to a greater extent than they have in the past...(These results will occur) as a function both of expanded consciousness, as well as occupational opportunities...but the increase will not be stable or uniform across crimes*" (Simon, 1975:1-2; 19; 66). Rosenblatt and Greenland (1976) also suggest this hypothesis.

In the support of this hypothesis, Simon (and others) found that the increases in female arrest rates among serious crimes was caused almost entirely by increased participation in property offences - especially larceny.

She found that the proportion of women arrested for property offences has increased three times as much as the proportion of men involved (Simon, 1975:38-39). Klein and Kress (1975) (as well as Simon) illustrate that these increases are primarily in larceny (mostly shoplifting) and secondarily in fraud and forgery. These are the "traditionally female offences" which have been tied to the consumption role of women as houseworkers. Simon further asserts that changes in police response is not a sufficient explanation for the increased arrest rates (Simon, 1975:46-48).

In a study analyzing long term Canadian data on female crime in relation to female labor participation and education, Fox and Hartnagel (forthcoming) - found that "it is primarily in the area of property crimes and particularly theft, that female arrest and conviction rates have shown the greatest increase in recent years." Further to this,

* emphasis added

In contradiction to Adler, Simon, Fox and Hartnagel (and others) also illustrate the absence of changes in female crimes of violence. For instance, Simon states "(A)s females enter the labor force in greater proportions, as they acquire skills through educational and occupational training, as they receive more generous financial compensation, their sense of powerlessness should diminish," (Simon, 1975:66).

According to Ward, et al. (1969), Reckless and Kay (1967), Rosenblatt and Greenland (1974) and other studies which have analyzed female crimes of violence in particular, it is these types of emotions which stimulate violent responses. The resulting prediction then, is that while female offences in white collar and property crimes of other types are expected to increase, their levels of violent crimes should decrease. The Report of the Canadian Committee on Corrections (1969) shows that there was an 80% increase in the female conviction rate for theft between the early 1950's and the late 1960's. The male to female ratio fell from 8 to 1 in 1962 to 3 to 1.

Shover et al. (1978), in considering changing sex roles as responsible for changes in female crime rates, found that "the attenuation of the traditional female sex role seems to produce some increase in female property crimes but not crimes of violence."

(These results are the same as Simon, Weis, Steffensmeir, Fox and Hartnagel, etc.)

Bartel (1979) states that between 1960 and 1974 the female crime rate increased three times the rate for males. In 1960, 11% of the total arrests were of females, while in 1974 it was 20% - she also notes

specifically that most of these female crimes are larceny. Further to this, Bartel emphasizes that "for every category of property crime the number of females arrested grew at a much faster rate than the number of males," (Bartel, 1979:89) And like Simon (1975) Steffensmeir (1978), Fox and Hartnagel (f.c.) and others, she makes note of the fact that "...in the case of crimes against the person...we observe no difference between the percentage change in female arrests and the percent change in male arrests." She concludes that "such findings invalidate a popular impression that in recent years women have been committing crimes of violence at a much higher rate related to men than in the past." (Bartel, 1979:89)

Simon found that in 1970, the proportion of females arrested for larceny had almost doubled since the early 1960's, while violent crimes had decreased slightly. "Females have more economic opportunity and more legal rights (divorce, abortions, etc.) and in recent years, they have been developing a rhetoric which legitimizes their newly established socio-legal-economic status...(this) seems to lessen the likelihood that they will feel victimized, dependent and oppressed, therefore, less likely to attack their traditional targets", that is, males with whom they are emotionally involved and dependent upon (husbands, lovers, pimps) and their children (Simon, 1975:2)

Simon's analysis of Uniform Crime Report (UCR) arrest data show that "the proportion of female arrests for violent crimes has changed hardly at all over the past two decades " (Simon, 1975:46) Hoffman-Bustemante (1973) insists that female arrests for murder, manslaughter and aggravated assault have decreased. The percentage of males

arrested for violent crimes has increased almost four times as much as the percentage of females.

In 1978, **Steffensmeir** did a thorough analysis of changing levels of female property crimes and concluded that "female levels of property crime are rising. But it is only for the offences of larceny-theft and fraud/embezzlement that female levels are increasing at a faster level than male levels...Moreover, absolute differences still exist and have generally increased so that female property crime levels continue to lag far behind those of males. The pattern of the data also suggests that the upward trend in female property crime is not due to the women's movement; that women are still typically non-violent, petty property offenders; and that the "new female criminal" is more of a social invention than an empirical reality " (**Steffensmeir**,1978:566), **Crites** (1976), **Weis** (1976), **Shover and Norland** (1978), and others agree.

Weis (1976) states that data concerning the changing status of women, when related to crime data demonstrates that "the relationship between the women's movement and changes in female criminal behavior is tenuous...especially regarding the proposed **causal** relationship between liberation and crime " (**Weis**, 1976:1).

Steffensmeir attempts to negate **Adler's** contentions, which involve all areas of female criminality, as well as **Simon's** predictions about the increase in arrests for property crimes as a result of the women's movement and ensuing increases in employment for women. He stresses that women do not learn the skills necessary to commit other types of

property crimes, eg. burglary, auto theft, and handling stolen property; this leaves them with propensities mainly for the categories of larceny/theft and fraud/embezzlement, i.e., it is not because they have become "masculinized" that they commit crimes. Hoffman-Bustemante (1973) also discussed this specific point.

These trends seem to indicate that property crime levels are influenced more by functional changes in society and situational variables of the individual, than are personal crimes. As the upward trend in the commission of property crimes for females is gradual and evenly distributed from 1960 to 1975, Steffensmeir declares that the women's movement cannot have had a considerable impact on such criminal behavior.

Mukherjee and Fitzgerald (1978) used longitudinal data (1900-1976) for each state in Australia to test the hypothesis that: 1/ female crime has increased during this time period and 2/ this rate of increase has been greater than that for men (Mukherjee and Fitzgerald, 1978:15). Using such a long time period allows them to consider the effects of several major events in the twentieth century on crime statistics; specifically, these are World War I, The Depression, World War II, Post War Economic and Baby Booms, and the Recessions of the 1960's and the 1970's. Their results indicate that the "volume of (real) crime in Australia is about the same in recent years as it was at the turn of the century " (Mukherjee and Fitzgerald, 1978:20)

When analyzing total offences for both sexes, it was established that no monotonic or linear patterns were apparent. It was noted, however, that the crime rates for females produces a "discernable U-shaped

distribution" from which several scenarios were devised:

1/ the U-shaped cycle may repeat itself (as with New South Wales since the early 1960's), or

2/ a plateau effect may surface - as is evident with the other three States during the 1970's, or

3/ as so many others predict, the rate could continue to increase.

Unfortunately, even with the use of 75 years of data, the limitations of using attenuated time-spans are manifest.

With regard to total offences by females, in all States, it is difficult to accept or reject the hypothesis that female crime is increasing:

"If we were to study the pattern of crime during the first three decades of the century, we could not but come to the conclusion that female crime was declining*. Equally, if we study the period 1940 to 1976, we would have most probably confirmed the hypothesis. Just as we would have been completely mistaken to predict that female crime would continue to decrease in the case of the former, we could be wrong in predicting that female crime will continue to increase in the latter case" (Mukherjee and Fitzgerald, 1978:22).

So obvious then, become the deficiencies of other studies which present conclusions in terms of absolutes while based on comparatively few years of data. Further problems prevail in studies which use percentages, or even ratios without proper regard to populations.

It is crucial for our purposes to note that Mukherjee and Fitzgerald also found that the patterns of crime for males fails to demonstrate any consistency even similar to the female patterns. With regard to the second hypothesis then, "the question of whether female crime is

* Emphasis added

increasing at a faster rate than male crime may be answered only if we have agreed that female crime has been increasing; this we (have not) definitively assert(ed) from the data for total offences."

When they viewed the data in terms of crimes against the person, and crimes against property the following distinctions could be made:

1/ "the pattern for the offences against the person exhibit similar characteristics to those observed for total offences, that is, the volume of crime in recent years is returning to levels comparable to those at the turn of the century " (Mukherjee and Fitzgerald, 1978:27,29).

a) they could neither accept nor reject the hypothesis that "female crime has increased since the turn of the century." They did proceed to test the hypothesis using various time segments:

i/ "all the States exhibit(ed) a varying number of time segments coinciding with alternate increases and decreases. Irrespective of the number of time segments, all the curves show an increase in the rate of crime since...between 1963 and 1965 in all States except Queensland. Furthermore, in New South Wales and Western Australia the present volume of crime is returning to the level experienced in the earlier part of the century, whereas in Queensland, it is far below the level at the turn of the century. Only in South Australia is the present volume of (female) crime higher than at anytime during the entire period " (Mukherjee and Fitzgerald, 1978:31).

ii/ For the entire time period they reject the hypothesis, but in terms of separate time segments, the hypothesis can either be rejected or accepted.

b) In evaluating **data** to satisfy the second hypothesis that "the rate of increase in female crime has been faster than that for males" they again reject it for the entire time period, but:

i/ the female rate of increase was faster than that for males for 1900 to 1926-31 in Queensland, Western Australia and South Australia, while

ii/"for the remainder of the century the male rates of increases were faster than those for females " (Mukherjee and Fitzgerald, 1978:33).

c/ In examining the female to male ratio in offences against the person "(i)t is unmistakably clear that the relative participation of females has been declining since the end of the Second World War and that the ratio of female to male since then is lower than any that existed prior to the mid 1940's" (Mukherjee and Fitzgerald, 1978:41).

2/ Female property offences were found to have increased in the most recent time segments, and to have attained their highest levels for all states.

a/ In terms of the first hypothesis, property "crimes by females in Western Australia have been increasing since 1928, New South Wales experienced a constant increase during the entire period...In the remaining two States, the most recent period of increase has come to an end; the slope for both is 0 in 1975 and the crime rate is about to decline* (for property crime). Thus, we reject the first hypothesis in all States " (Mukherjee and Fitzgerald, 1978:33).

b/ The second hypothesis is rejected for all states except Western Australia, but again when time segments are analyzed, it is obvious "we cannot make categic statements."

"In Western Australia the rate of increase in property crimes by females has always been higher than those for males and we can definitively assert that property crimes by females have been increasing at a faster rate than property crimes by males during the entire period under study. The State of New South Wales presents a complete reverse situation until 1967, that is a higher rate of increase for males " (Mukherjee and Fitzgerald, 1978:37).

For Queensland and South Australia in the first part of the 1950 to 1970 segment property crimes for both sexes increased, with males being faster, while at the end of the segment the increases for males decreased but that of females continued to increase such that in the early 1970's the female increase rate finally surpassed that of males.

* Emphasis added to accentuate the forecast made by the authors. Such a statement is in contradiction with all other research here considered; the statement again emphasizes the artificiality of absolute statements concerning trends abstracted from short term data.

It is noted, however, that "the comparatively higher rate of increase for property offences by females (could be) because of the decline in the rate of increase for males" (Mukherjee and Fitzgerald, 1978: 37).

c/ With regard to the female-male ratio, the data demonstrate a higher female to male ratio since the Second World War. Furthermore, the period since the mid 1960's experienced the most rapid and sustained rise of the female to male ratio in all states for the entire century " (Mukherjee and Fitzgerald, 1978: 43).

Mukherjee and Fitzgerald reach a conclusion about trends that is similar to many other researchers reviewed here, but the women's movement is not evaluated as a factor in the study. "(T)he claim that there has been a substantial increase in the volume of crimes by females in recent years is somewhat tenuous." (Mukherjee and Fitzgerald, 1978: 48).

THE STATUS OF WOMEN

One must decide, however, whether there has even been the realization of the goals of the women's movement, and if so, who has been affected. Knudsen (1969) has argued that the status of women in the world of work is declining, relative to men. If this is so, one would expect that the poorly educated woman is pushed out of the primary labor market and onto the secondary labor market "as the more educated actualize their aspirations to be employed, even if in jobs that do not require the skills and credentials they now possess " (Noblit and Burcard, 1977:36).

Coupling this increasing economic marginality of lower class women with (for example) Konopka's argument (1967) that the working class woman recognizes her lack of equality and privilege in comparison to men, and responds to it through individual acts of vengeance, one may possibly explain some of the increases in female criminal behavior and arrest rates (Noblit and Burcard, 1977).

With the increasing divorce rates, cost of living, etc., one would further expect this lower class woman to have more responsibilities than in the past - more "male" types of responsibilities - while at the same time having less opportunity to better her position, i.e. her situation is worse than ever.

Payak (1963) urges her readers to understand the female offender in the context of her role as a mother and as a wife; because her status, self-image and sense of security are dependent upon her relationship

with the other sex, any disruption of her dependent social position may cause criminal behavior to arise.

In brief, one must first pose the question: Is there a rise in female participation in the labor force? In what areas? Even Simon states "the values of the statistics in support of the correlation between feminism and crime falters when examined more closely and in conjunction with a demographic profile of the female offender " (Simon, 1975:36). It appears that benefits derived from the women's movement in the area of employment are only apparent for white, middle-class females; while "the women's movement has swept over the sub-population group of poor, minority females, into which the female offender falls " (Simon, 1975:36-37). (At least those females who are apprehended fall into this category.) These women, rather than experiencing expanded rights and opportunities gained recently, are finding themselves in positions of declining options for survival, coupled with increasing responsibilities.

"(T)he female offender is poor, uneducated, a racial minority, responsible for her own support and often the support of her children... for this woman, the phenomena of the woman's rights movement has been totally meaningless " (Simon, 1975:32).

Velimesis (1975) agrees that "incarcerated females have generally had low wage, low status jobs 70-90% will have to be self-supporting upon release."

"The previously identified characteristics - poverty, main source of income, few skills, mostly mothers - and the property crimes most women commit are evidence of the increasing strain that a technological, impersonal society is creating in the lives of poor and primarily minority group, innercity women. As the quality of life deteriorates in the poverty sections of our big cities and as that life becomes more violent, women will also become more violent in their traditional roles of school-

girl, mother, lover, and unemployed, or meagerly paid worker." (Velimesis, 1975:108).

In an economic analysis of female crime rates Bartel (1979) supports Simon by finding that "the greater the percent of families with income below one-half the median income in the States (the greater the degree of income inequality) the higher the level of these female crimes (burglary, robbery and auto theft)." She also indicates that this effect holds for personal crimes as well, even though these are not usually considered to be "economically motivated " (Bartel, 1979:100). Another important finding of Bartel's concerns marital status of the offender. Whereas "married women are more likely to commit property crimes than single women...marital status has no influence on the incidence of personal crime " (Bartel, 1979:101). All that can be said then is that "women in the labor force are more likely to commit property crimes than women who are not in the labor force", however, "while an increase in the labor force participation rate of single women has a positive effect on property crime, the labor force participation rate of married women has no effect " (Bartel, 1979:101). The opposite seems to hold true for males. "Married men in the labor force...are more likely to commit property crimes; especially larceny." Such a conclusion discredits the idea that being "released" from the home provides greater opportunity to commit crimes and that this opportunity will be taken advantage of by married women. Bartel says what is necessary:

"the fact that labor force participation of married women has no effect on property crime is an important thing. Criminologists have argued that the recent dramatic rise in female crime is due to the increase in the rate at which women are participating in the labor force....The sharp increase in total female labor force participation, however, has been

due only to the increase in the labor force participation of MARRIED women. During the period of 1960-1974, the labor force participation of married women rose by 40% while the labor force participation rate of other women rose only by 7.8%the recent dramatic increase in female crime **cannot** be explained by the increase in female **labor** force participation; the increase in the non-married **labor** force participation would only have produced a 30% increase in **female crime rates** "(Bartel, 1979:102).

Even Adler states that "...in spite of the women's rights movement, unemployment, underemployment and poverty are visited mostly on females and disproportionately on minority females...these females have not only derived little benefit, **(they have) not acquired consciousness** related aspects of the women's rights movement," nor do they support it (Bruck, 1976; Adler, 1975), they may even vocally oppose any association with it (Adler, 1975:8). They come from the lower SES of society, which traditionally recognizes male dominance and superiority, and their psychological dependence on males may even contribute to their criminality (Ward et al, 1969; Adler, 1975; Payak, 1963; and others).

Racial factors also prevail here. For instance Bartel (1979) states that "the percentage of females in the population who are non-whites has a positive and significant effect on the amount of female crime because non-whites tend to have inferior legal opportunities " (Bartel, 1979:102).

Crites (1976) states that "if the two primary contributions of the women's movement are increased psychological independence, and expanded economic opportunity, the movement appears to have had little effect on female offenders and their peers. **These women** may simply have surveyed their options, found them limited, and turned to theft as a

rational means of survival " (Crites, 1976:39).

Velimesis would add that:

"...if we begin to view women offenders as persons who have made fairly logical responses to situations in their lives - responses which are made on the basis of their own limited experience - rather than as criminals who have deliberately set out to break our laws " (Velimesis, 1975:112).

Simon (1975), Knudsen (1969), and Steffensmeir (1978), etc.

indicate that at best, women's status is not increasing toward equality with males, and at worst it is declining at varying rates according to whichever measure is being used.

Smart, a radical feminist states that "...increased extra-familial social participation among women simultaneous with their status decline is related to role dislocation and devaluation, lower fertility, privatization of the nuclear family, segregated labor market, consumerism, and social distributions based on equality of competition, not equality of results...have profoundly altered family and gender structures, and probably worsened women's condition, especially among the already disadvantaged groups " (Smart, 1976:248).

It seems that according to Adler's "theory", the increasing status of women is a necessary condition for an increase in the frequency of female criminal offences and for a change in the types of crimes women do commit. If the status of women is not increasing, then either the pattern of their crimes is not really changing or the "liberation theory" does not account for the increase.

The most obvious way to critically test this theory is to consider the criminal behavior of women historically, i.e., if women's liberation is to have occurred only recently - in the last decade or so - what is

the difference in criminal behavior patterns prior to the liberation movement and immediately after the effects are expected to be at their peak? A comparison of the frequency, and **types of crime** - as well as the motives - before and after the emancipation of women 'occurred' is needed. Further, has the profile of female criminality become increasingly parallel to that of males? There is a crucial gap in Adler's statement, that is, can we predict that when women attain a status on an equal level with men their crime rates will be equal - not only in numbers but in patterns? If women's status has increased as much as she attempts to impart to her readers then one would already expect female criminality to be much higher than it is.

PROBLEMS WITH THEORY ON FEMALE CRIMINALITY

Shover and Norland (1978) point out that "criminologists have brought to their work on sex differentials in crime a set of gender-role stereotypes; they have then discerned empirical patterns and constructed "theoretical" evidence consistent with these beliefs."

Often, theories perpetuate the assumed existence of certain sex - linked personality differences; i.e., that inherent or acquired personality traits differentiate the sexes. In 1963, Payak **stated** that females are naturally dependent on men, and are motivated by emotions. In 1974, Sandhu and Irving **said the same thing**. From such assertions as these the argument moves on to make an unsatisfying linkage between particular traits and patterns of criminal involvement, i.e., ultra-masculine traits are especially criminogenic.

"Since men are expected to be aggressive, males are more likely to be delinquent than females, who are expected to adopt a more passive role " (Haskell and Yablonsky, 1974:424) It follows, then, that females who are delinquent are masculine.

Lombroso stated that women by their very nature and role in society, are less capable of violence than men. However, "...the criminal woman is...a monster. Her normal sister is kept in the paths of virtue by...maternity, piety, weakness (for example) and when these counter-influences fail and a woman commits a crime, we may conclude that her wickedness must have been enormous before it could triumph over so many obstacles " (Lombroso, 1897:152).

The problem then is that isolated traits are taken as explanations, and their meaning is taken for granted. "What **is** needed is an a priori

specification and definition of traits which differentiates males and females." (Shover and Norland, 1978).

In short, persons who possess more masculine traits are assumed to have a greater affinity for criminal behavior. Thus, the major factor hypothesized to be related to crime and the changing patterns of crime is the "masculine personality". Adler uses the development of "initiative, and male machismo competitiveness" to explain increasing criminal behavior on the part of women (Adler, 1975:98). Norland and Shover, 1976, put it fairly; "...unfortunately, this becomes a tautology to explain change in criminality of the female." That is, the masculinization of the female accounts for her masculine behavior, some of which is criminal.

ROLE VALIDATION

The second theory, role validation theory, states that female criminal behavior is an illegitimate expression of legitimate female role expectations and opportunities; i.e., rather than simply being a reflection of symbolic masculinity, her criminal activity is an expression of her role as a female (Thomas, 1923; Hoffman-Bustemante, 1973; Weis, 1976). For example, in 1963 and 1973, 80% of crimes committed by women were shoplifting offences. Such illegal activity is the result of 'her' most common legitimate role expectations - such as shopping and keeping herself 'at her best' (cosmetics, jewelry, etc.). Significantly, women seldom shoplift objects of substantial value - as male shoplifters do; consequently, she will most often be charged with petty theft (Cameron, 1963; Hoffman-Bustemante, 1973).

Authors supporting the role validation model of female criminality refute Adler's contentions that: the status of women is rising; rates of female crime are increasing in all areas; and female criminal behavior reflects her masculinization.

This theory as an explanation of female criminal behavior has found support by many authors and researchers. For example, Shover, et al., (1978) found that the traditional masculine role is less important than the traditional female role as a predictor of the extent of criminality for women, i.e., Shover et al., negate the common explanation that the masculine gender is more conducive to criminal involvement. From this orientation the masculinization tenet is valid only on the point that the masculine gender role affords the more extensive opportunity to commit a crime as well as the fact that there are fewer social controls on males.

Weis, 1976, states that "females occupy and perform roles in the straight and criminal worlds which are defined by their sex-determined lack of opportunity."

Klein and Kress (1975:17) put it aptly by saying "the class structure of sexism...is reproduced in the illegal marketplace...(women) are no more big time dope dealers than they are finance capitalists."

The role validation model of female criminality would suggest that any increases in female arrest rates for larceny and fraud/embezzlement would represent extensions of traditional female role behavior, rather than the expression of new roles. Increase in larceny would reflect increased participation in the traditional female crime of shoplifting; this crime is well suited to the traditional sex-linked behavior of shoplifting. Increasing reliance of self-serve markets and the growth of shopping centres provides tempting opportunities for shoplifting. However, store surveillance methods have recently been improved and store officials have become more willing to prosecute (Steffensmeir, 1978; Pollak, 1950; Cameron, 1963)

Structural changes can account for these increases more adequately. Attitudinal and behavioral changes have been responsible for alterations in the division of labor, as prescribed by tradition (Clinard, 1942). Both rising divorce rates and an increasing number of families headed by women imply that the opportunities available to commit fraud or larceny may be taken advantage of when increasing pressures force women to yield to temptations (Adler, 1977). Furthermore, such offences are committed by lower-class women who are most likely in financial need and seemingly more likely to commit the traditional crime - but as discussed previously, they are least likely to be affected by the women's movement.

Clinard stated that the "... influence of functional change in a society is reflected far less in personal crimes than in property offences" (1942: 204). One would assume then that the "amelioration of structural inequities" between the sexes is a functional change which, while failing to have an impact on personal crimes, should lead to a decline over time in the relative gap in property crimes.

Even Adler has stated that "there has not yet been a comparatively accelerated increase in female arrests for murders and aggravated assault. This may indicate that female offenders, like their male counterparts, are primarily interested in bettering their positions." (Adler, 1977:103).

Allen and Simpson (1976); Cameron (1963); Pollak (1950); Simon (1975); Steffensmeir (1978); Fox and Hartnagel (f.c.) have estimated that by far the majority (70-80%) of female theft arrests are for shoplifting. This further decreases the level of seriousness of female criminality as it is also established that women shoplift less and take objects of considerably less value than their male counterparts who also shoplift. Lemert (1971) says that 75% of frauds are committed by "naive" check forgers; further decreasing the severity of the "traditional female crimes."

Hoffman-Bustemante states that "...crimes committed by women are the outcome of four major factors. These include differential role expectations of men and women, differences in socialization patterns and applications of social control by sex, structurally determined differences in opportunities to commit particular offences, different access or pressure toward criminally oriented subcultures and careers and sex differences within the crime categories themselves ... each will operate differentially for both men and women "(Hoffman-Bustemante, 1973:117).

The problem arises in trying to establish how each factor operates. For example, a man is more likely to commit armed robbery than a woman is, due to each of the above factors. He is more likely to learn the use of weapons, to have access to a weapon, to know of persons or places to profit from by robbing. The category is distinguishable from others by the modus operandi - which encompasses more male than female role expectations.

Females are supervised more closely and are more strictly disciplined in our society and yet informal sanctions as a means of social control, via primary and secondary groups, are more consistently enforced for women, and for deviations of lesser degree from the established standards. "This results in a situation where females have been taught to conform to more rigid standards and rewarded for such behavior, whereas males are told to conform, yet rewarded for flaunting many conventional standards " (Hoffman-Bustemante, 1973:127).

From another point of view, aggressiveness, independence and assertiveness are more an indication of the absence of control (i.e., "freeness") than a restriction.

"As David Bordua has noted, delinquency is fun - even more importantly, a type of fun infrequently allowed to females. Said differently, delinquency involves a spirit of liberation, the opportunity to take risks, and a chance to pursue publicly some of the pleasures that are symbolic of adult male status outside the family. One reason why delinquency is fun, then is because it anticipates a range of activities, some having to do with criminal and others with more conventional occupations, that are more open to men than women. And it is the sexually stratified socialization process.. that cultivates this awareness " (Hagan, Simpson, and Gillis, 1978:7-8).

These latter authors conclude that women are oversocialized and over-controlled within the overall social context of stratification systems. Females of all ages are subjected to the extremities of both informal and formal social control.

"The rates of arrest for women are lowest in those societies in which they are most closely supervised, and highest in those where women have the greatest equality with men " (Sutherland and Cressey, 1970:127).

Furthermore, these same authors have noted that the sex ratio varies across racial groups; the ratio demonstrates greater differential behavior on the part of whites than for blacks (i.e. the difference between male and female rates is larger for whites than blacks). Sutherland and Cressey explain that blacks are less distinguished by social standing between sexes than are whites. It would be worthwhile to examine natives in Canada in a similar method. It is likely that differential social positions will establish both opportunities for various criminal patterns as well as pressure toward them.

Hagan, Simpson, and Gillis (1978:1) emphasize the social fact that:

"women are far more restricted than men in their access to the reward structure of the stratification system. This is not simply a matter of overt economic discrimination or exclusion; it is also a matter of men more generally being ascribed to the public arena, and women to the private sphere. It is of special interest to us that one consequence of the restriction of women to private space is to make them less available for the public ascription of criminal and delinquent statuses."

In the United States Uniform Crime Reports, the concentration of women in the arrest figures in this area is closely tied to her pattern in everyday life. "...This fits well into her everyday round, and feeling of economic pressures " (Lemert, 1971:139).

Sutherland and Cressey suggest that white-collar fraud is one of the most prevalent crimes but that it is committed almost always by males in positions of higher concealment, whereas the types of fraud which are committed by women are easier to detect.

"Although the way in which the crime is committed is the same for both men and women, the lesser training, low status positions and lesser ability to offer resititution that characterize the jobs open to women makes it more likely that the woman offender will get caught " (Hoffman-Bustemante, 1973:128). This could explain why fraud is a "traditional" female crime and is one of the most common charges for women offenders - despite the low female crime rates.

In the area of thefts "...the most striking aspects is that these crimes are poorly planned, spur-of-the-moment **nature** ... (These women take) great risk for small possible financial success and the secondary nature of the female participant " (Ward et al, 1969:873).

Women are less likely to be arrested for crimes that require stereotyped male behavior - this further indicates a close tie to her sex role. "When they are arrested on such charges, it appears they have played secondary, supportive roles...Thus, women seem to commit crimes in roles auxiliary to men, in keeping with their sex roles and for lesser returns, often making them more vulnerable to arrest " (Hoffman-Bustemante, 1973:131).

Ward et al (1969), discuss crimes of violence by women and conclude that females play supporting roles to men, rarely assault healthy alert males by themselves; either attack males who are drunk, asleep or off guard, or make their attacks with the assistance of another

person. Furthermore, they most often attack persons with whom they have had a close affectional relationships. The victims of women, then are somewhat different than the victims of males who commit violent crimes. Unlike men, women rarely attack persons in the course of robberies or burglaries.

Over time, however, Ward et al. (1969) found that women played increasingly more active roles in the violent crimes. Some of their data do support Adler's contention that women are becoming more aggressive, eg. the increasing use of guns in robberies or murders, increasing solitary robberies, playing more active roles, and the idea that technology serves to equalize the physical difference between men and women. On the other hand, there are findings which detract from this generalization; for example, there has been a decreasing use of guns in assaults by women, and there has been no increase in the frequency of solitary assaults or homicides. Norland and Shover, 1977, provide more recent evidence to say the same thing.

"The proportion of all homicide arrests for females declined from 1966 to 1975 and there was no appreciable change in females percent of arrest for aggravated assault...but, percent of females arrested for armed robbery and other property crimes show an increase of considerable magnitude and the size of the increase is especially greater for non-violent offences." They conclude that, "if changes are occurring in gender roles in such a way that women are becoming more aggressively criminal, its reflection in the rather complex pattern of female arrests is not self-evident " (Norland and Shover, 1977:96)

These authors have established five parameters of criminality which are related to gender roles and to changes in these roles.

- 1) the distribution of involvement across offence categories.
- 2) the total volume of criminal behavior.
- 3) the distribution of victims across victim categories.

4) modus operandi and type of role taken in the offence.

5) motive, subjective reason (Norland and Shover, 1977:96)

As indicated by Ward et al. (1969) data support the hypothesis that the role of women in murders, and their choices of victims, is closely tied to their sex role. Wolfgang found that race differences were even more important than sex differences (cited in Adler, 1977). This concept was discussed previously. On violent crimes, Ward found that, in one half of the cases the victim was a family member or lover, who was in common residence with the victim; of these, only 21% were considered premeditated. Physical strength was not used in 51%; 1/3 used household implements while another third used guns. One can see that women more often use household implements as a reflection of the fact that they most often commit homicide in their own homes against their own kin or a paramour. The difference in the conditions of the victims of violent crimes is further indicative of sex role differentiation. 61% of a women's victims are incapacitated, women are less likely to learn how to fight and thus simply injure a victim.

Rosenblatt and Greenland (1974) had similar findings with Canadian data. They state that "...it is the very attempt to fulfill culturally defined roles as wife and mother in our society which is often at the source of much of her violence " (Rosenblatt and Greenland, 1974:180) Furthermore, because of sex role differentiation women are less likely to be in situations in which violence may be more normative.

In short, according to the data, the commission of violent crimes by women is closely tied to the nature of the female sex role, the types of skills women learn as they grow up and the network of social relations

in which adult women are involved. The data concerning property crimes lead us to the same conclusion.

"Adult female criminality generally appears to cluster in those few situations, and to those victims, which circumscribe women's daily rounds: the home, the family, the market and lower-level positions in work organizations " (Hoffman-Bustemante, 1973:133)

In short, criminal behavior distinguishes between gender role expectations, positions in opportunity structures and patterns of everyday activity - all of which are sex-linked. Females act within roles which are defined by a gender-determined paucity of opportunity - in both the straight and criminal worlds.

The empirical statements are set forth by role validation theory are:

1). female status is not increasing, it is not moving in an upward direction. Some suggest that the status of women has been decreasing in the last two decades (Knudsen, 1969; Simon, 1975; Shover and Norland, 1978).

2). female criminal behavior is not increasing in all areas, it is increasing only slightly in the 'traditional female crimes' but this increase will be proportionate to the general increase in criminal behavior.

3). as such, the criminal behavior of women still continues to be an extension of her traditional social role.

In maintaining that the sex roles are not being adjusted according to the demands of the Women's Movement, the role validation model predicts that women are still limited by structure (in the areas of knowledge and opportunity to commit crimes) and thus they still commit feminine crimes in feminine ways.

If we extend role validation theory to say that if female criminality is an extension of legitimate role expectations and as these expectations change so will female criminal behavior - it sounds very similar to liberation theory. However, it leaves more room for prediction, i.e., it is not specified that the crime rate of females will increase in all areas (as Adler has chosen to do). It could well be that female criminality will decrease because the **perceived** necessity to shoplift (for example) will decrease as financial and personal frustrations are decreased.

If emancipation for women is a **goal** in our society, we must not immediately assume that with emancipation comes criminality. Nor must we assume that emancipation for women entails becoming like males. That is, the definition must be more adequately defined. Emancipation may mean equal opportunity to attain common social goals and status. Adler seems to have espoused the opportunity theory of deviance whereby when there is opportunity for crime - crime will occur.

The role validation model avoids any deficiency of narrow-mindedness, it simply predicts that women will commit crimes according to what their roles are - in whatever society at whatever time, thus far, it has the advantage of applicability over the liberation theory. The linkage between **these** two constructs seems more tenable. To falsify this statement, one **would** have to see what affect role change would have on the patterns of female criminality; or if the female crime rate **rose** substantially while the general role expectations did not, the model would be considered **invalid**.

The role validation model implies that regardless of, for example, technological change, the currently predominant role expectations will be

the most **probable** explanation and predictor of female criminality. Temporal order in this instance is more obvious because of greater acceptability of the linkage than with Adler's statement.

Although the two theories do attempt to relate the same constructs, i.e., the influence of role expectations in female criminality, the essential difference lies in Adler's contention that relative role expectations and gender status have changed.

For instance, Adler cites technological equalizers as responsible for decreasing the differences in physical strength between men and women; for example, a woman can physically **wield** a gun as well as a man, and thus more equally commit a violent crime. The physical concomitant of the violent act is aided by her increasingly equal role which has allowed her to be more assertive while at the same time placing her in positions of greater frustration, causing her to act more aggressively. (One would think that 'her' emancipation would alleviate many of her frustrations thus causing her to commit a lesser number of such crimes (Simon, 1975)). That is, she is provided increased opportunity and ability to obtain male patterns of behavior as well as an increased propensity to commit crime.

Whereas Adler says that there is a change in patterns of female criminality as a result of the change in the role expectations, the role validation model predicts that there is no change in patterns of criminality because there has been no significant role change - however, they do not each imply the opposite of the other. From both of these theories one could derive a conditional statement, i.e., change in female criminal behavior results from changed social role expectations.

This relationship must be applicable or adaptable to all societies in all times. Adler implies that either there has never been a change in the female role historically (because the female crime rate has always been negligible) and that only recently female roles have changed causing a corresponding increase in female criminality - assuming a lag-time as well. (Alternatively, one could predict a threshold effect where female criminal behavior remains relatively constant over time regardless of role changes and other changes - eg. technological, until the roles have changed enough to be responsible for a significant increase in female crime.) But one cannot apply such a statement to Adler's contentions.

From this review, two hypotheses have been isolated for evaluation in this study.¹

1) female crime is increasing in all offence areas at an alarming rate (re: Adler, 1975).

2) female crime is increasing in all offence areas at a faster rate than male crime is increasing.

¹ these hypotheses are as Mukherjee and Fitzgerald (1978) tested. Data shall likewise be examined in a similar manner.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

1) STATISTICAL DATA SOURCES

From the previous theoretical discussion one can surmise that there are several main questions to be answered here.

First of all, evidence must be presented to illustrate the change - or stability - over time in the nature of the criminal behavior of adult females in Alberta. Is criminal action on the part of these women increasing in proportion to the general population of adult women? If so, in which categories of criminal behavior? Are the criminal roles played by these women changing? That is, have the frequency and patterns of adult female criminal behavior been stable over time?

Furthermore, what is the relationship between the nature of female criminal action and that of males? Are sex differences in crime rates decreasing? In what categories have the relationships changed?

An attempt to answer these questions is made with the analysis of Alberta crime statistics for the years 1962 through 1977. If the trends of Mukherjee and Fitzgerald (1978) apply to other countries this may not be an adequate time span; however, prior to 1962 such data was either not collected in Alberta, or only partially collected, and even that which exists is of dubious quality. These statistics are viewed in terms of the changes in both absolute numbers for specific crime categories and the relative changes over time. The relative analyses discuss the changes in female rates for each category per total number of crimes, per

total number of crimes committed by women, as well as the changes in the offence category as a whole.

The data will further be analyzed for:

1/ increased criminal behavior based on absolute numbers within each sex group as illustrated by a) offence rate per sex based population, and b) percentage of total crime accounted for by sex. Standardizing the absolute data to sex-specific rates per 100,000 population ensures comparability with other studies as well as over time and between categories of crime (Mukherjee and Fitzgerald, 1978).

2/ proportion of male to female participation as based on sex specific rates per 100,000 population. This provides a quantification of the relative participation by males and females in the changing volume of crime and seems to be the most appropriate method for comparison between the sexes (Mukherjee and Fitzgerald, 1978).

It is felt here, in agreement with Mukherjee and Fitzgerald that "rates and proportions used as two distinct measures of the volume of crime, and relative participation in crime, respectively, provide a much more meaningful assessment of the changing character of crime than do simple percentages." Furthermore, "the increase or decrease in rates does not necessarily reflect a concomitant change in proportions in the same direction " (Mukherjee and Fitzgerald, 1978: 11-12).

The results are compared with other studies, Fox and Hartnagel (f.c.), Mukherjee and Fitzgerald, 1978; Steffensmeir, 1978; Simon, 1975; and Adler, 1975.

For the analyses of the Alberta arrest statistics two specific crime categories have been distinguished:

1/ crimes of violence¹ This category includes homicides, robbery and assault. Statistically, very few women are charged with committing sex offences (other than soliciting) and therefore this offence is excluded from the analysis (there were only 24 over a 16 year period.)

Unfortunately, statistics providing information on modus operandi, motive, weapon used in the offence, and the relationship of the offender to the victim cannot be obtained. As indicated previously, these factors would provide evidence to support or reject the theoretical explanations which have been offered regarding these crimes.

2/ property crimes² These crimes are initially analyzed as a group but for complete analysis they are evaluated separately for trends. Break and Enter, larceny-theft (under and over), auto theft, possession of stolen property and fraud/embezzlement are the specific property crimes.

As a combined category, Steffensmeir, (1978) found larger relative increases for property offences over the years for females than for males. He concludes that "except for stolen property crime has been narrowing since 1960 " (Steffensmeir, 1978:571). In agreement with

¹ since aggressiveness has traditionally been considered a male behavior, and crimes of violence have been committed almost solely by males - in terms of numbers - homicide, armed robbery, and assault charges will be considered male crimes, except when committed in a traditionally female manner" (for example, murder (committed by a woman) of a man with whom she is emotionally involved.)

² minor fraud and theft under \$200 are traditionally the crimes women most often commit. i.e. these are not such rare events in terms of female criminal behavior. All others (break and enter, stolen property, robbery, auto theft over \$200) are more often committed by males.

Simon (1975), Steffensmeir found that the most substantial increase in female property crimes were in the areas of theft and fraud. "Women now comprise almost one-third of the arrests for both these offences, whereas, in 1960 they made up less than one-sixth." It is important to note that "burglary and auto theft remain predominantly male offences" (Steffensmeir, 1978: 571).

Thus, findings in the United States provide support for the role validation model and indicate that distinct analysis of each of these categories is crucial for the theoretical purposes of this paper.

3/ federal drug offences. Statistically, offences under the federal narcotics do not allow enough conceptual distinction to warrant use for this study. That is, a person given a \$200 fine for possession of marijuana can be found in the same set of statistics as a person who has been convicted for trafficking cocaine and is serving a federal sentence.

4/ soliciting³. Insofar as this is a "victimless" offence, and is irregularly enforced, it is not considered in the statistical analysis.

In sum, the main sources of statistical data are arrest data in conjunction with census data in order to account for sex distributions in population. Adult status is 18 years and over for males and females.⁴

Using the rate per 100,000 over 18 for both males and females enables standardization thus ensuring comparability between the two sex

3 This has been a female prerogative in fact, until recently the laws concerning the sale of one's own body for sexual resource, have been designed only with concern for such behavior on the part of women.

4 Until 1978 this was the legal age category for classification of females for juvenile or adult status in Alberta.

groups. It has been suggested that the nature of female criminal behavior may have been changing prior to the expected effect of the women's movement and that the trend is increasing. If so, these results would simply reflect the general increase in criminal behavior (Weis, 1976; Steffensmeir, 1978). Furthermore, to adequately cover the theoretical possibilities the role validation model must be examined as the primary alternative.

2) INMATES AS DATA SOURCES

With interviews of convicted women we are further able to evaluate the relative value of each theory. Even without samples taken from two time periods to compare, the interview data are complementary to the statistical data.

The interviews were conducted on a volunteer basis with women held in Fort Saskatchewan Provincial Correctional Institution (FSCI) and Belmont Community Correctional Centre (BCCC), thus a purposive sample is used. Because of the small number of sentenced women available, those in remanded custody were also questioned. This brings the number of available women to approximately 55 (allowing for movements in and out of the institutions) for the month of March. At any given time there are between thirty and thirty-five women at FSCI and between thirteen and sixteen at BCCC. The final number of acceptable interviews was 40; 2 women refused interviews and it was necessary to disqualify two completed interviews because the respondents were uncooperative or drugged.

This sample is incomplete in the sense that most women convicted for federal offences in Alberta are incarcerated in Kingston Prison for Women (KPW).⁵ Only a few of these were available for interviews as they

⁵ For certain cases the province agrees to hold some federal cases at FSCI, two of these are in the sample.

passed through FSCI.

Items were devised to measure four relevant variables.

1) One set of items distinguishes between conventional and non-conventional types of females who have committed a crime. That is, do these women subscribe to traditionally defined roles of the female or to a non-conventional role? Does she think in a "conventional" or "liberated" manner? This is labelled Orientation.

For example, strength of agreement or disagreement to statements such as:

"I like to rely on a man most of the time"

"A woman should have a man to look after her"

"A woman's job is to help her man get ahead"

"When really serious things are involved, I feel better if a man is in charge"

"Women should get married and have children"

2) Another set of items permits analysis of type of crime according to modus operandi, victim, and motive - in order to assign that criminal event and its actor to the category of "traditional male crime" or "traditional female crime". Furthermore, these items allow us to decide whether she has committed a "masculine" crime in a "feminine" or "masculine" manner. This is labelled Type of Crime. (Rosenblatt and Greenland, 1974; Smart, 1976; Adler, 1975; 1977; Hoffman-Bustemante, 1973; Haskell and Yablonsky, 1974).

3) Another set of items distinguishes between conventional and non-conventional role expectations which direct the offender's responsibilities while out of prison. That is, is she the head of her household, how many dependents does she have, what is her financial

status, what is her source of income? Is she playing a man's role or is she solely dependent on a man? This is considered Role Placement.

4) The final set of items evaluate feelings of control over one's life. This is to be related to the previous three scales and is called Control.

For example, her strength of agreement or disagreement to statements such as the following:

"I would like to have more say over what happens to me"

"Often things happen to me that affect my life, but I seem to have no control over these things."

"I have had most of the say about what happens to me"

"Most of the time I have control over what is going on in my life"

In sum, these items were analyzed to create an index permitting classification of these women by: 1) orientation; 2) type of crime; 3) role placement; and 4) control.⁶

⁶ As the sample size will be very small, these distinctions were collapsed into small categories, eg. high or low conventionality.

LIMITATIONS OF THE DATA

1) STATISTICAL DATA SOURCES

There are certain conceptual problems with using statistics which relate the number of arrests. They do not tell us the number of cases settled out of court. We do not know the number of persons involved in committing a single crime. We do not know if a person arrested for one crime is also arrested for one or more crimes of a less serious nature.

We do not know the role played by the offender in committing the crime; nor do we know the relationship between the victim and the offender (cf Nettler, 1974). Nor do we know if those on remand were finally convicted.

All we can say is that X number of persons were arrested for allegedly committing crime Y in year Z.

We can, however, distinguish between sex and juvenile/adult status if we count persons charged and do not look at crimes committed. Most importantly we can differentiate between the "types" of crimes most often committed by adult females and adult males. Since this aspect (and the change over time in relation to the women's liberation movement) is one of the crucial points of the theories being considered here, these statistics are adequate for the exploratory purpose of this paper.⁷

⁷ Furthermore, these are the statistics most commonly used in similar studies. (For example, Adler, 1975; 1976; Simon, 1975; Steffensmeir, 1978).

2) INTERVIEW AND FILE SOURCES

The specific problem in this area of the study is the potential bias in the limited number and selectivity of the interviewees. Certainly, not all women convicted in Alberta's courts go to FSCI or BCCC; we cannot assume that those who do are a "typical female criminal". They are simply the ones who go to jail. Neither are the women on remand exemplary of all women on their way to court or to jail, many others are on bail, etc. It is possible that a class bias is accountable for this situation. Furthermore, we certainly cannot assume that all, or even most, of the women who commit crimes are even apprehended, let alone convicted. Even with these obviously detrimental limitations it is felt that the use of these data is worthwhile when used in conjunction with the arrest statistics as was done by Adler; in fact, this aspect of the study replicates part of the techniques used by Adler (1975). Further, they serve to ground the data with specific groups of cases. Insight gained in the face-to-face situation of the interviews is also helpful in interpreting the statistical data.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The liberation theory and the role validation theory have been presented and have been evaluated with two analagous data sets. The general questions are: what have been the trends in the nature of female criminality? How has the women's movement affected these trends, or has it had any affect? An implicit question in the theoretical discussion and research design is: what general structural changes have taken place which may have an effect on female criminal behavior?

The two sources of data together provide an adequate basis for choosing which theory best explains the current nature of criminal behavior on the part of Alberta's women. The liberation theory predicts an increase in "masculine" criminal behavior due to the more liberated orientation and non-conventional role placement of these women. The role validation theory leads us to expect an increase only in typically "feminine" criminal action as a result of their conventional orientations and role placements. It is expected that using these data to falsify all or part of the former will further substantiate the latter; or vice-versa.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF "OFFICIAL" DATA

The data will be discussed in terms of the two major offence categories established earlier and the major hypotheses as stated previously. The order of presentation and discussion will be:

- 1) offence rates by sex and by offence categories
- 2) female versus male participation - proportional contribution by sex.

1. OFFENCE RATES BY SEX BY OFFENCE CATEGORIES.

A). ALL CRIMES Figure 1 represents the rate per 100,000 population over the seventeen year period. It appears that crime has increased rapidly from 1972 - 1977, but this was also the case for 1962 - 1968, after which the rates dropped considerably in the following five years. This is especially the case for males while the rate of overall female crime demonstrates relatively negligible changes (though slightly reflecting the male rate and the total rate and the total rate), Table 4.1. One could conclude from these data that the rate of female illegal behavior is not increasing. The "new female criminal" appears to be either non-existent or not contributing to an increase in crime rates in Alberta. What increases there are could simply be a reflection of increased willingness on the part of all elements of the legal system to prosecute these women (Simon, 1976; Chesney-lind, 1973; Velimesis, 1975). Alternatively, the variations could be explained by factors producing fluctuations in the crime rate of the

Year	Total	Female	Male	%Female	%Male	P. Female	P. Male	P. Total	M/F
1962	41120	3478	37642	8.45	91.54	8.6	88.5	49.8	10.3
1963	42690	3401	39289	7.96	92.03	8.4	90.5	50.9	10.8
1964	47606	3753	43853	7.88	92.11	9.1	100.1	56.1	11.0
1965	50780	4505	46276	8.87	91.12	10.8	104.4	59.0	9.7
1966	54082	4592	49490	8.49	91.50	10.6	111.2	61.8	10.5
1967	58302	5277	53025	9.05	90.94	12.0	116.9	65.3	9.7
1968	64070	5522	58548	8.61	91.38	12.1	125.1	69.4	10.3
1969	64573	5647	58926	8.74	91.25	12.0	122.2	67.7	10.2
1970	60998	5405	55593	8.86	91.13	11.0	111.6	61.9	10.2
1971	55306	5777	49529	10.44	89.55	11.5	96.6	54.6	8.4
1972	56410	5528	50882	9.79	90.20	10.7	96.6	54.1	9.0
1973	56235	6199	50036	11.02	88.97	11.6	92.5	52.5	8.0
1974	61418	5347	56071	8.70	91.29	9.7	100.6	55.6	10.4
1975	72789	6081	66708	8.35	91.64	10.8	116.4	64.1	10.8
1976	90578	7937	82641	8.76	91.23	13.7	139.8	77.4	10.2
1977	102894	8394	94500	8.15	91.84	12.9	153.7	84.5	11.1

TABLE 4.1 - ALL CRIMES

Total = total number of adults charged

Female = number of females charged

Male = number of males charged

%Female = percent females contribute to total adults charged

%Male = percent males contribute to total adults charged

P. Female = adult females charged per 100,000 adult females in

Alberta per year

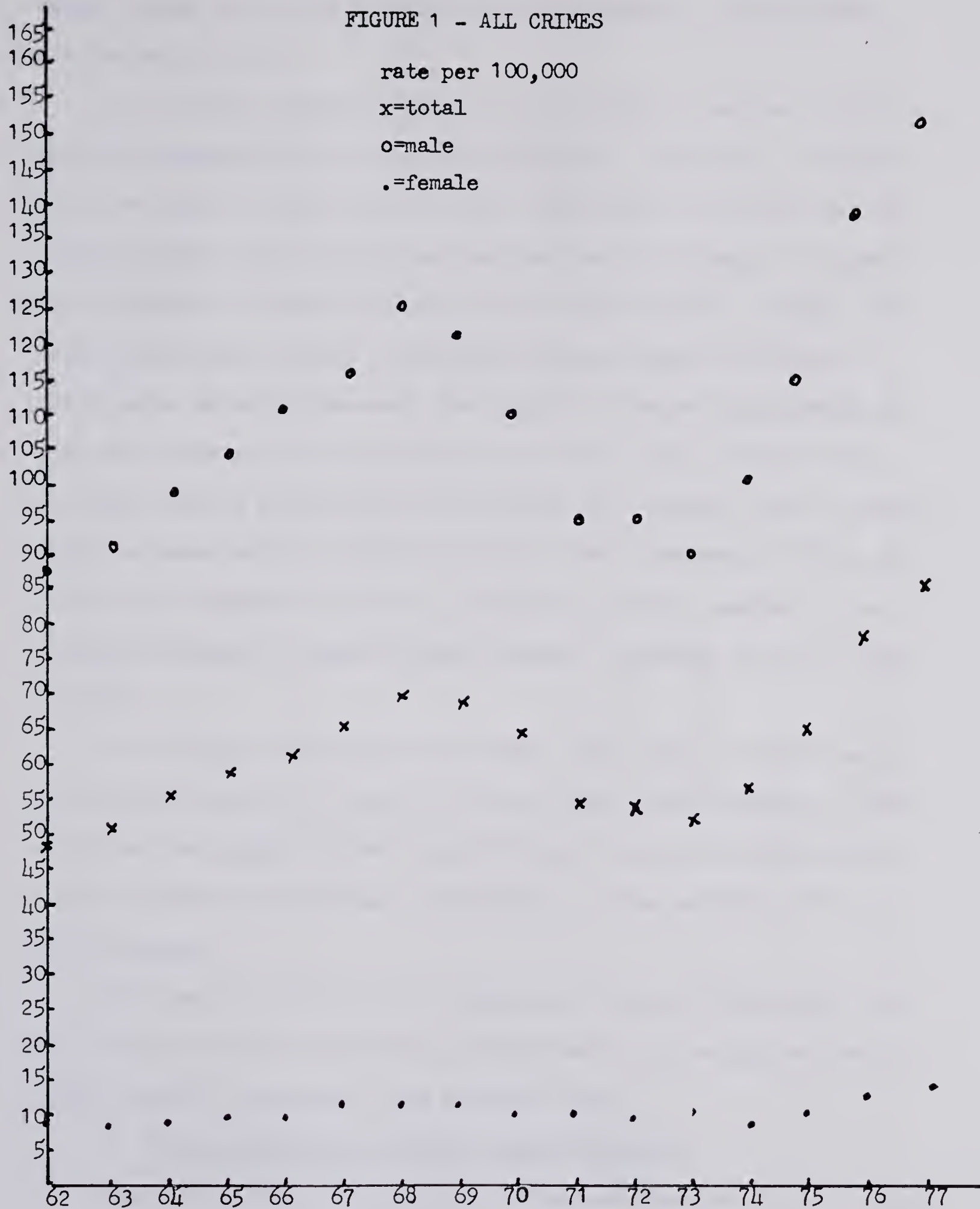
P. Male = number of adult males charged per 100,000 adult males

in Alberta per year

P. Total = adults charged per 100,000 adults in Alberta

M/F = proportion of males to females charged

FIGURE 1 - ALL CRIMES



total adult population. It would likely be more effective to have a longer period of time as did Mukherjee and Fitzgerald (1978) and Fox and Hartnagel (f.c.).

As is readily apparent (Table 4.1), the ratio of criminal participation by females is not increasing drastically - if at all; furthermore, not only is their level of crime consistently far lower than the rates for males, but the male rate at least shows evidence of observable fluctuations. These variations could be the result of several socioeconomic-political factors operating in the environment which tend to affect males more than females; for example, increased unemployment and increased transiency in the latter part of the 1960's and the 1970's. It should also be noted that if one accepts the statement that the women's rights movement had its effect in the late 1960's and early 1970's, then this "social movement" has yet to provoke significant changes in the illegitimate aspects of female social behavior - contrary to Adler's anticipation.

In sum then, after perusing the total crime rates for adult males and females, and for all adults, one must reject both hypotheses. Female crime does not appear to have large increases, nor is it increasing at a rate as fast as that of men - let alone at a rate exceeding that of male increases.

But since the "total crime" category may obscure differences, criminal offences will be classified and analyzed in two categories: violent crimes (against the person); and property crimes.

B). VIOLENT CRIMES AND PROPERTY CRIMES COMBINED

Figure 2 and Table 4.2 provide the combined data which will be analyzed. It should be acknowledged first of all, that female crime in these

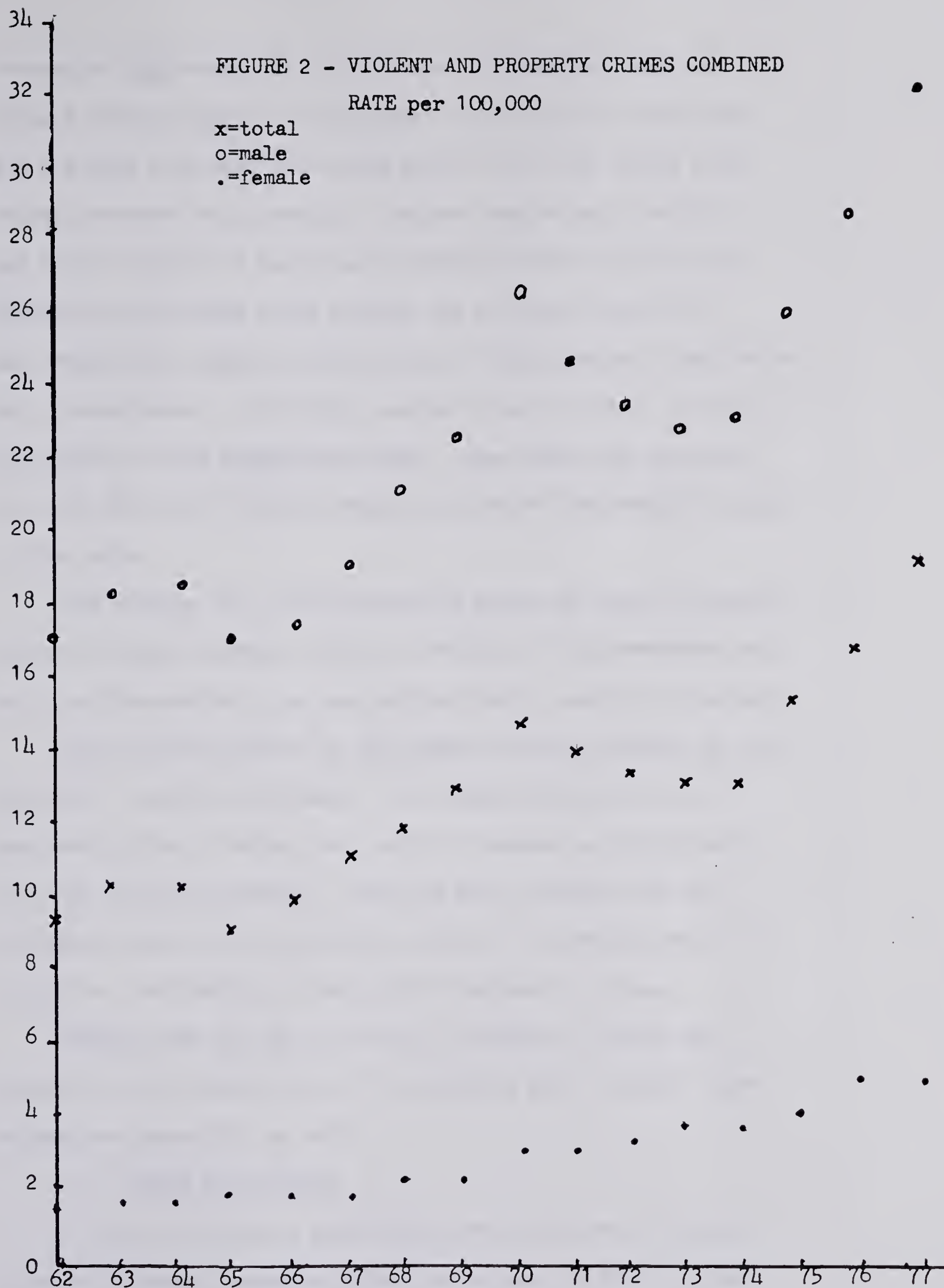
Year	Total	Female	Male	%Female	%Male	P.Female	P.Male	P.Total	M/F
1962	7808	555	7252	7.10	92.89	1.3	17.06	9.45	13.12
1963	8472	600	7872	7.08	92.91	1.5	18.14	10.11	12.09
1964	8726	621	8105	7.11	92.88	1.5	18.51	10.28	12.34
1965	8378	743	7635	8.86	91.13	1.8	17.23	9.74	9.57
1966	8700	769	7931	8.83	91.16	1.8	17.82	9.95	9.90
1967	9552	834	8718	8.70	91.26	1.8	19.23	10.70	10.68
1968	10801	1058	9743	9.79	90.20	2.3	20.83	11.71	9.05
1969	12548	1154	10964	9.19	87.37	2.4	22.74	13.17	9.47
1970	14726	1584	13142	10.75	89.24	3.25	26.39	14.95	8.12
1971	14477	1690	12787	11.67	88.32	3.38	24.94	14.30	7.37
1972	14290	1846	12444	12.91	87.08	3.58	23.63	13.72	6.60
1973	14520	2033	12487	14.00	85.99	3.83	23.09	13.56	6.03
1974	15022	2026	12996	13.48	86.51	3.71	23.33	13.60	6.29
1975	17985	2358	15627	13.11	86.88	4.19	26.44	15.85	6.31
1976	20435	2907	17428	14.22	85.28	5.17	29.49	17.46	5.70
1977	23281	3088	20193	13.26	86.73	5.12	32.84	19.12	6.41

TABLE 4.2 - VIOLENCE AND PROPERTY COMBINED

FIGURE 2 - VIOLENT AND PROPERTY CRIMES COMBINED

RATE per 100,000

x=total
o=male
.=female



categories has increased; in fact this increase has been consistent (though slight) to the extent that when the total rate and the male rate declined in the early 1970's the female rate either increased or plateaued. The same can be said for 1964 and 1965, however, it must also be mentioned that in the years immediately following these periods the male rate rose at a much faster rate than the female rate. That is, whereas the female rate demonstrates a relatively constant rise over time, the male rate moves in more exaggerated waves. The total rate reflects the male rate more than the female rate due to the absolute input of the males.

With concern for the hypotheses one would say that the female crime rate is increasing, but as to whether it is increasing faster than the male rate one can only say that, overall, it is not.

Even with the effects of the women's rights movement in process and - possibly increasing - the female crime rate is not approaching that of males, nor has it increased as significantly over the total time period. Again we must conclude that what increases there are in the female rate are not drastic and could simply be a reflection of the general increase in crime.

Nothing more can be said without looking at violent and property crimes distinctly and the offences which compile these categories separately as well.

C). CRIMES OF VIOLENCE

In light of Figure 3 and Table 4.3 one would have to dismiss Adler's statements regarding female criminals and their increasingly violent nature - at least as they might refer to Alberta. Female commissions of violent crimes are stable compared with

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>%Female</u>	<u>%Male</u>	<u>P.Female</u>	<u>P.Male</u>	<u>P.Total</u>	<u>M/F</u>
1962	1603	96	1507	5.98	94.01	.24	3.50	1.94	14.58
1963	1891	104	1787	5.49	94.50	.26	4.12	2.26	15.85
1964	1876	121	1755	6.44	93.55	.29	4.01	2.21	13.83
1965	2089	142	1947	6.79	93.20	.34	4.40	2.43	12.94
1966	2303	185	2118	8.03	91.96	.43	4.76	2.63	11.07
1967	2549	155	2394	6.08	93.91	.35	5.28	2.85	15.09
1968	2725	182	2543	6.67	93.32	.40	5.44	2.95	13.60
1969	2917	206	2711	7.06	92.93	.44	5.62	3.06	12.77
1970	3157	222	2935	7.03	92.96	.45	5.89	3.20	13.09
1971	3336	238	3098	7.13	92.86	.48	6.04	3.29	12.58
1972	3217	265	2952	8.23	91.76	.51	5.61	3.09	11.00
1973	3405	359	3046	10.54	89.45	.68	5.63	3.18	8.28
1974	3551	324	3227	9.12	90.87	.59	5.79	3.22	9.80
1975	3886	386	3500	9.93	90.06	.68	6.10	3.42	8.97
1976	4378	485	3893	11.07	88.90	.83	6.58	3.74	7.93
1977	4795	476	4319	9.92	90.07	.79	7.03	3.94	8.90

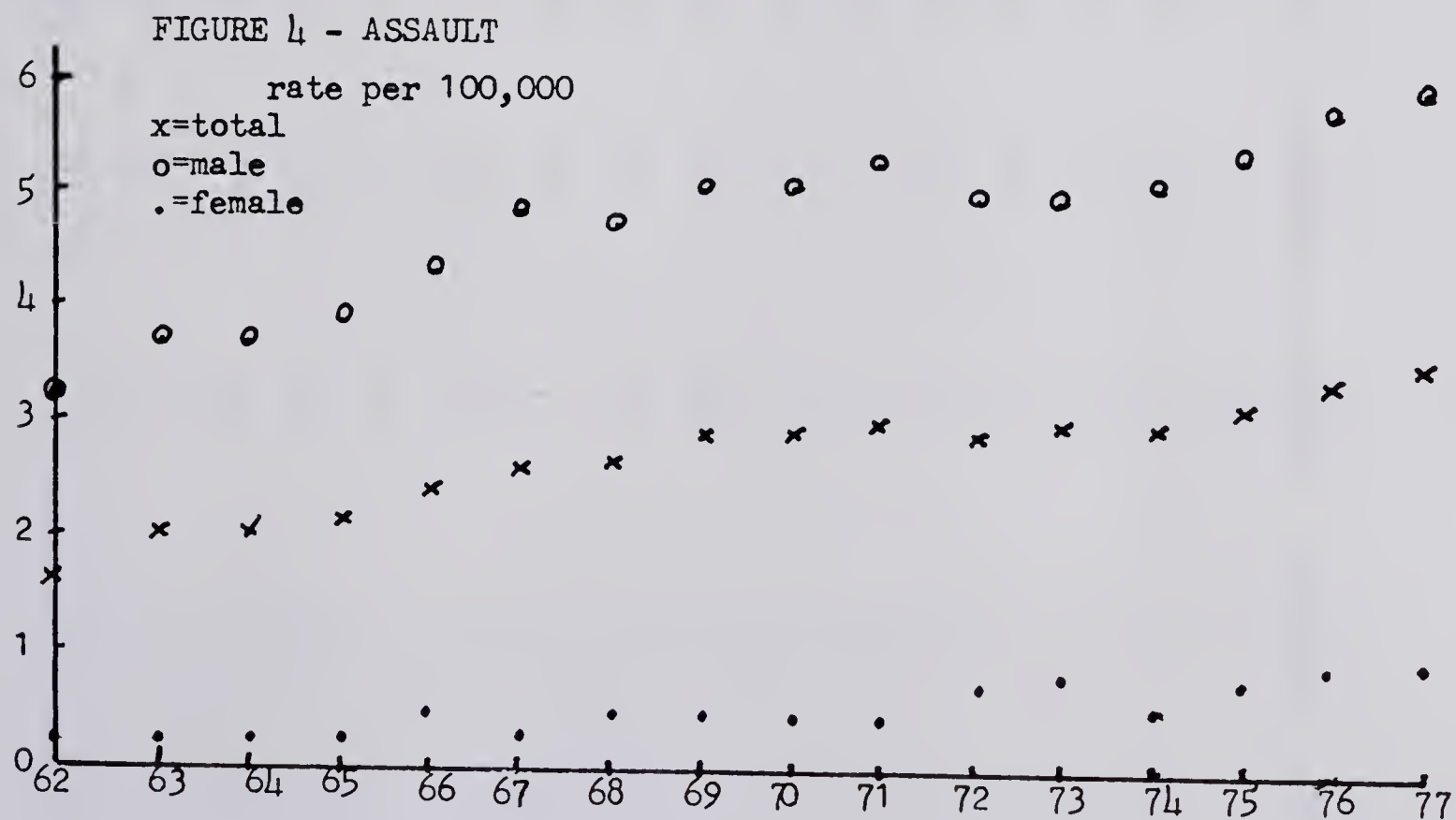
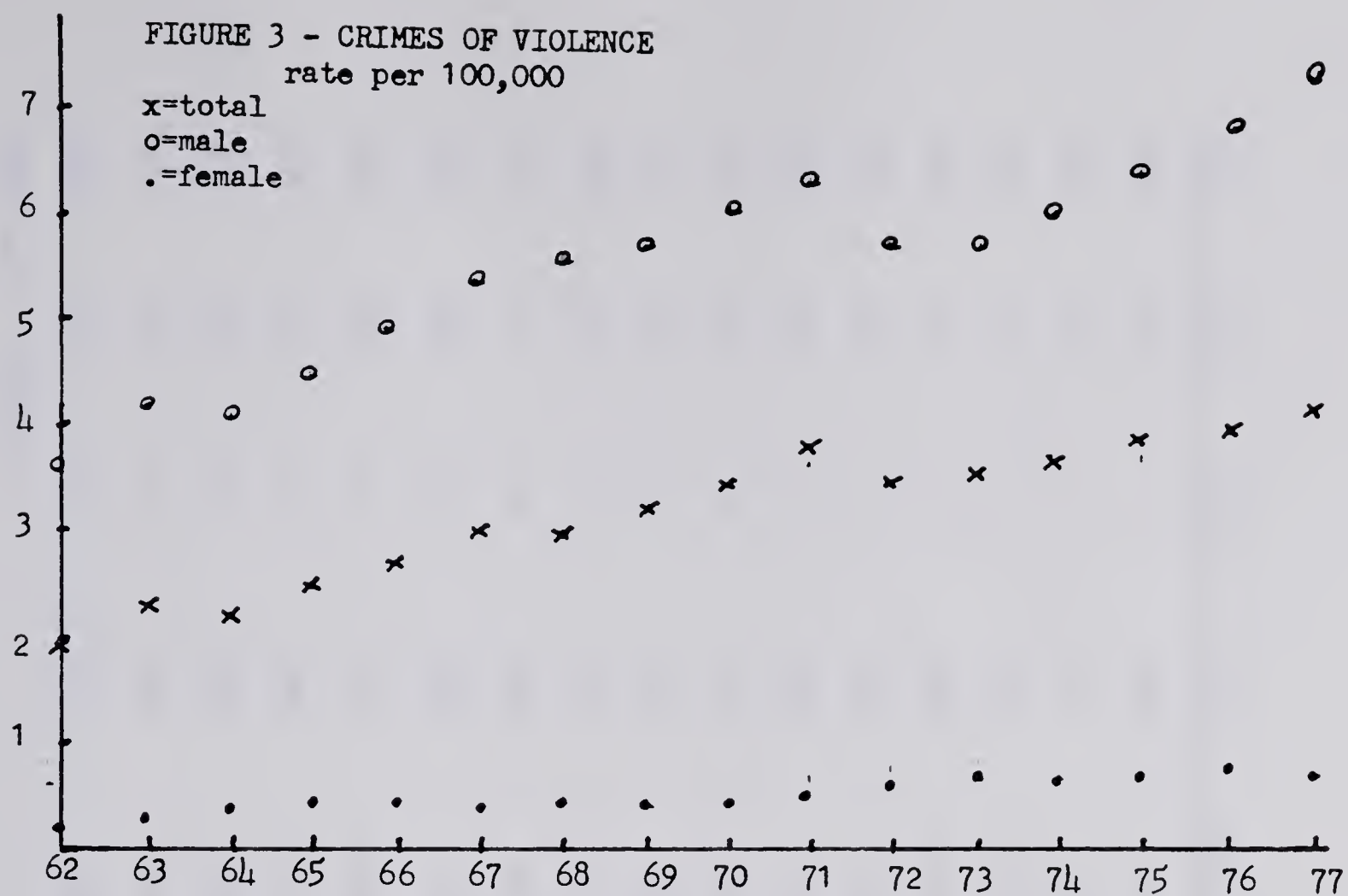
TABLE 4.3 - CRIMES OF VIOLENCE

Year	Total	Female	Male	%Female	%Male	P.Female	P.Male	P.Total	M/F
1962	21	0	21	0	100	n	n	n	n
1963	20	3	17	15	85	n	n	n	n
1964	17	2	15	11.76	88.23	n	n	n	n
1965	22	5	17	22.76	77.27	n	n	n	n
1966	30	4	26	13.33	86.66	n	n	n	n
1967	35	3	32	8.57	91.42	n	n	n	n
1968	30	5	25	16.66	83.33	n	n	n	n
1969	34	3	31	8.82	91.17	n	n	n	n
1970	65	3	62	4.61	85.38	n	n	n	n
1971	63	7	56	11.11	88.88	n	n	n	n
1972	61	16	45	26.22	73.77	n	n	n	n
1973	63	7	56	11.11	88.80	n	n	n	n
1974	92	15	77	16.30	83.69	n	n	n	n
1975	94	11	83	11.70	88.29	n	n	n	n
1976	119	19	100	19.00	84.03	n	n	n	n
1977	66	12	54	18.18	81.81	n	n	n	n

TABLE 4.4 - HOMICIDE

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>%Female</u>	<u>%Male</u>	<u>P.Female</u>	<u>P.Male</u>	<u>P.Total</u>	<u>M/F</u>
1962	1476	93	1383	6.30	93.69	.2	3.2	1.7	16
1963	1718	89	1629	5.18	94.81	.2	3.7	2.0	18.5
1964	1730	104	1626	6.01	93.98	.2	3.7	2.0	18.5
1965	1854	114	1740	6.14	93.85	.2	3.9	2.1	19.5
1966	2070	165	1905	7.97	92.02	.3	4.2	2.3	14.0
1967	2261	123	2138	5.44	94.55	.2	4.7	2.5	23.5
1968	2386	147	2239	6.16	93.83	.3	4.7	2.5	15.66
1969	2629	181	2448	6.88	93.11	.3	5.0	2.7	16.66
1970	2687	181	2506	6.73	93.26	.3	5.0	2.7	16.66
1971	2862	195	2667	6.81	93.18	.3	5.2	2.8	17.33
1972	2747	209	2538	7.60	92.39	.4	4.8	2.6	12.00
1973	2899	300	2599	10.34	89.65	.5	4.8	2.7	9.6
1974	3009	259	2750	8.60	91.39	.4	4.9	2.7	12.25
1975	3238	325	2913	10.03	89.96	.5	5.0	2.8	10.0
1976	3709	405	3304	10.91	89.08	.6	5.6	3.1	9.33
1977	4012	409	3603	10.19	89.80	.6	5.8	3.2	10.0

TABLE 4.5 - ASSAULT



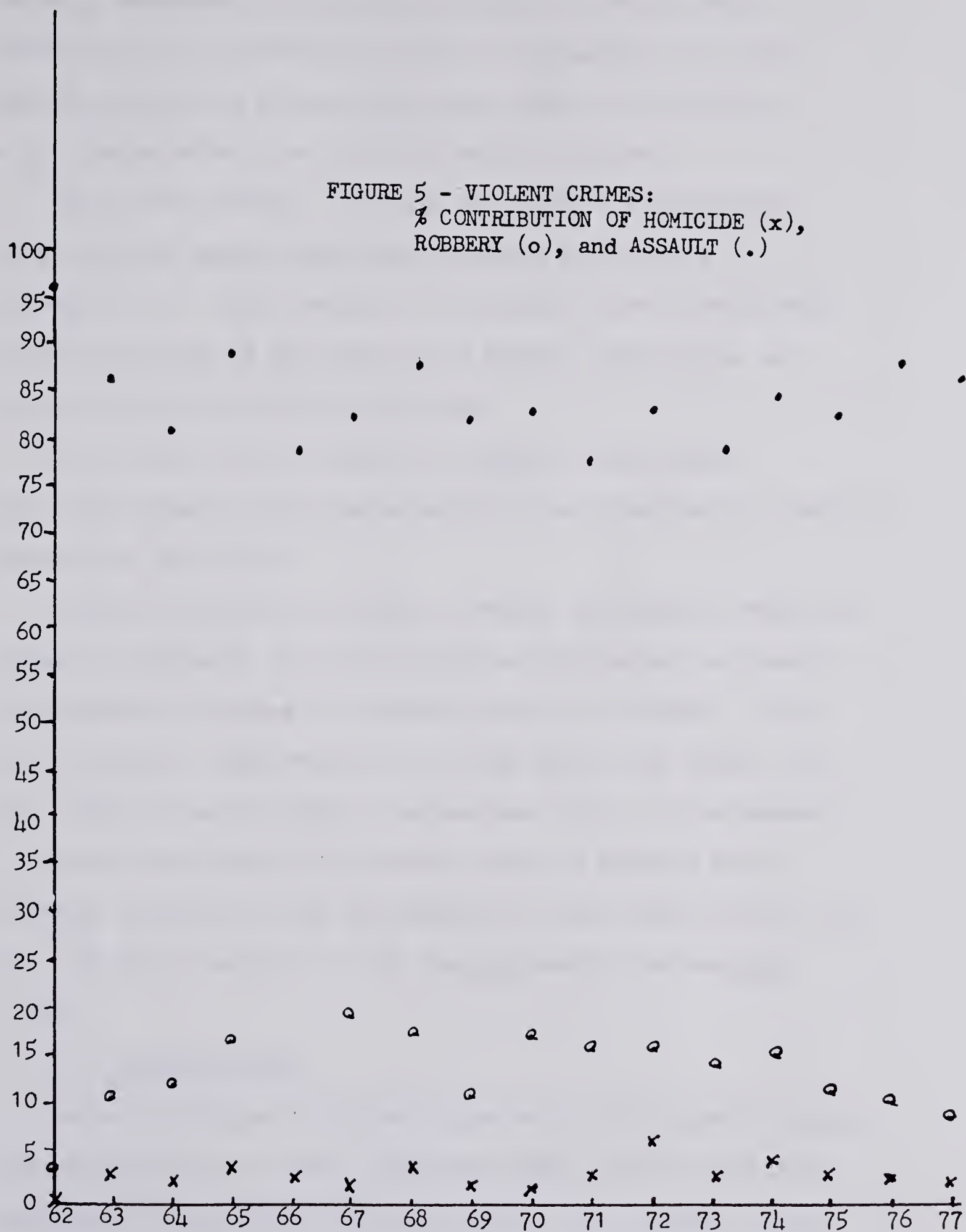
Year	Total	Female	Male	%Female	%Male	P.Female	P.Male	P.Total	M/F
1962	106	3	103	2.83	97.16	n	.2	.1	n
1963	153	12	141	7.84	92.15	n	.3	.1	n
1964	129	15	114	11.62	88.37	n	.2	.1	n
1965	213	23	190	10.79	89.20	n	.4	.2	n
1966	203	16	187	7.88	92.11	n	.4	.2	n
1967	253	29	224	11.46	88.53	n	.4	.2	n
1968	309	30	279	9.70	90.29	n	.5	.2	n
1969	254	22	232	8.66	91.33	n	.4	.3	n
1970	405	38	367	9.38	90.61	n	.7	.2	n
1971	411	36	375	8.75	91.24	n	.7	.4	n
1972	409	40	369	9.77	90.22	n	.7	.3	n
1973	443	52	391	11.73	88.26	n	.7	.4	n
1974	450	50	400	11.11	88.88	n	.7	.4	n
1975	554	50	504	9.02	90.97	n	.8	.4	n
1976	550	61	489	11.09	88.90	n	.8	.5	n
1977	716	54	662	7.54	92.45	n	1.0	.5	n

TABLE 4.6 - ROBBERY

Year	Total Female Violent Crimes	Assault	%Assault	Robbery	%Rob.	Homicide	%Hom.
1962	96	93	96.87	3	3.12	0	0
1963	104	89	85.57	12	11.53	3	2.88
1964	121	104	85.95	15	12.39	2	1.65
1965	142	114	80.28	23	16.19	5	3.52
1966	185	165	89.18	16	8.64	4	2.16
1967	155	123	79.35	29	18.70	3	1.93
1968	182	147	80.76	30	16.48	5	2.74
1969	206	181	87.86	22	10.67	3	1.45
1970	222	181	81.53	38	17.11	3	1.35
1971	238	195	81.93	36	15.12	7	2.94
1972	265	209	78.86	40	15.09	16	6.03
1973	359	300	83.56	52	14.48	7	1.94
1974	324	259	79.93	50	15.43	15	4.62
1975	386	325	84.19	50	12.95	11	2.84
1976	485	405	83.50	61	12.57	19	3.91
1977	476	409	85.92	54	11.34	12	2.52

TABLE 4.7 - CONTRIBUTION OF SPECIFIC OFFENCES TO THE TOTAL VIOLENT CRIME CATEGORY

FIGURE 5 - VIOLENT CRIMES:
% CONTRIBUTION OF HOMICIDE (x),
ROBBERY (o), and ASSAULT (.)



the male rate. In fact the female level is so low that it is unaffected by decreases in the overall increase of the male rate, i. e., factors which are affecting the male rate appear not to be affecting the female rate either because they simply do not affect it or the female numbers are too low to even be affected.

Figure 5 and Table 4.7 indicate the relative contributions (in percent) of each of the crimes: homicide (x), assault (.), and robbery (o). While robbery is a masculine crime, assault would not necessarily be if the victim was a husband, lover, pimp, or a child of the woman committing the crime.

Table 4.4 shows the few instances of both male and female "homicidal" behavior; this sub-category can be "masculine" or "feminine" depending on the victim.

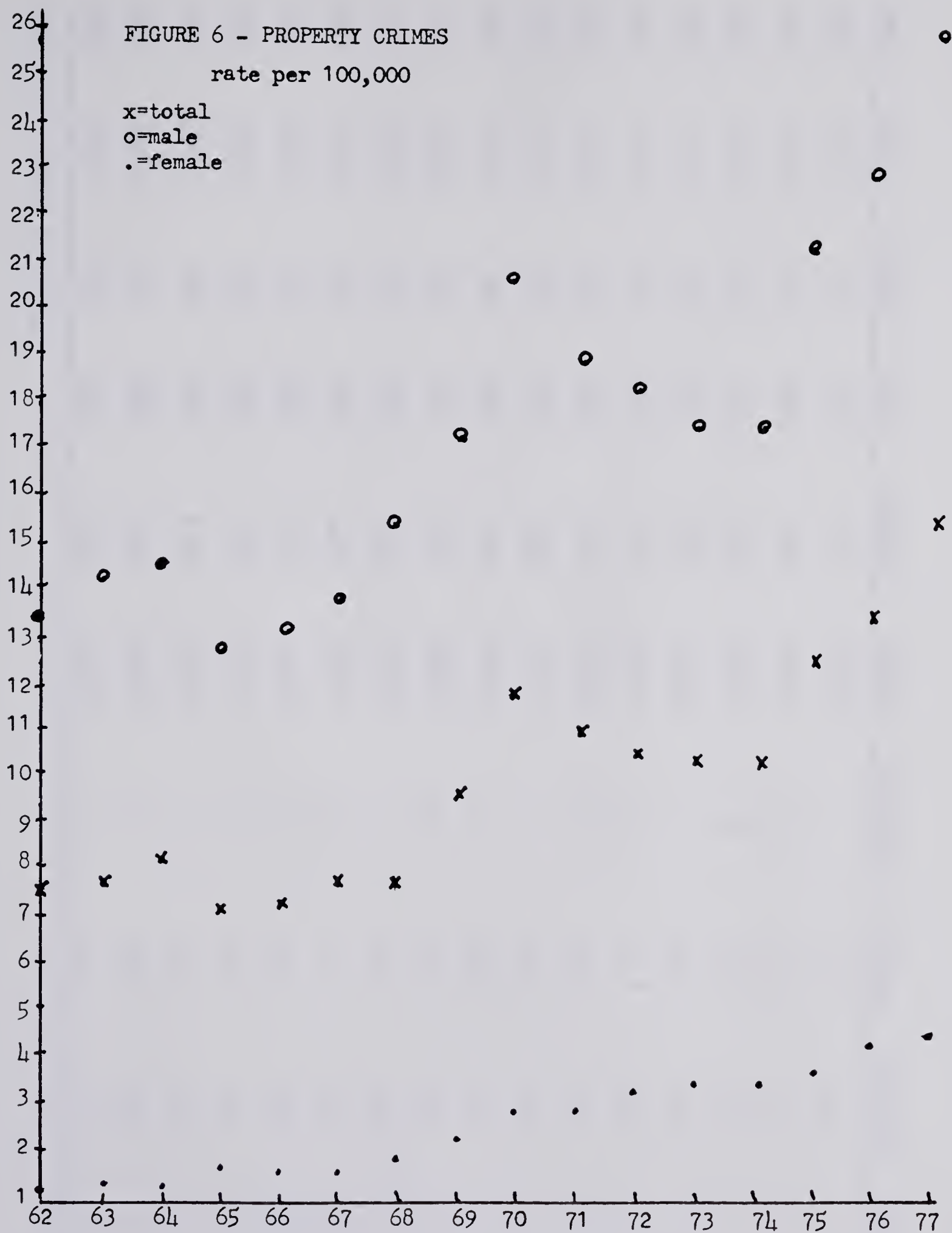
Figure 4 and Table 4.5 (assault) reflect the general category of "crimes of violence". In fact as Table 4.7 illustrates, the assault sub-category contributes the largest percent of variation. In the case of assault, then, the results are the same as the overall category. While there is a slight increase over time it is not adequate to support the hypothesis that female crimes of violence are increasing. Neither are they increasing at a faster rate than the male rate. In short, women in Alberta are not becoming increasingly violent.

D). PROPERTY CRIMES

Table 4.8 and Figure 6 present a picture of total property crimes; these being, break and enter, theft over (\$200), theft under, fraud, possession of stolen goods, and auto theft. As a combined category

Year	Total	Female	Male	%Female	%Male	P. Female	P. Male	P. Total	M/F
1962	6204	459	5745	7.39	92.60	1.15	13.52	7.51	11.76
1963	6581	496	6085	7.53	92.46	1.23	14.02	7.85	11.40
1964	6850	500	6350	7.29	92.70	1.22	14.50	8.07	11.89
1965	6288	601	5688	9.55	90.45	1.44	12.83	7.30	8.91
1966	6397	584	5813	9.12	90.87	1.36	13.06	7.32	9.60
1967	2003	679	6324	10.31	90.30	1.55	13.95	7.84	9.00
1968	8076	876	7200	10.84	89.15	1.93	15.39	8.76	7.97
1969	9201	948	8253	10.30	89.69	2.02	17.12	9.66	8.48
1970	11569	1362	10207	11.77	88.22	2.79	20.50	11.74	7.35
1971	11141	1452	9689	13.03	86.96	2.91	18.90	11.00	6.49
1972	11073	1581	9492	14.27	85.72	3.07	18.03	10.63	5.87
1973	11115	1674	9441	15.06	84.93	3.16	17.46	10.38	5.53
1974	11471	1702	9769	14.83	85.16	3.11	17.54	10.39	5.64
1975	14099	1972	12127	13.98	86.01	3.51	21.16	12.43	6.03
1976	15957	2422	13535	15.17	84.82	4.18	22.90	13.64	5.47
1977	18486	2612	15874	14.12	85.87	4.33	25.82	15.18	5.90

TABLE 4.8 - PROPERTY CRIMES TOTAL



Year	Total	Female	Male	%Female	%Male	P.Female	P.Male	P.Total	M/F
1962	1001	14	987	1.34	98.60	n	2.3	1.2	n
1963	1085	16	1069	1.47	98.52	n	2.4	1.2	n
1964	1209	20	1189	1.65	98.34	n	2.7	1.4	n
1965	1079	28	1051	2.59	97.40	n	2.3	1.2	n
1966	1071	17	1054	1.58	98.41	n	2.3	1.2	n
1967	1242	34	1208	2.73	97.26	n	2.6	1.3	n
1968	1361	45	1316	3.30	96.69	n	2.8	1.4	n
1969	1582	30	1552	1.89	98.10	n	3.2	1.6	n
1970	1904	33	1871	1.73	98.26	n	3.7	1.9	n
1971	1709	40	1669	2.34	97.65	n	3.2	1.6	n
1972	1933	75	1858	3.87	96.12	.1	3.5	1.8	35
1973	2098	67	2031	3.19	96.80	.1	3.7	1.9	37
1974	2266	43	2223	1.86	98.10	n	3.9	2.0	n
1975	2750	80	2670	2.90	97.09	.1	4.6	2.4	n
1976	3059	90	2969	2.94	97.05	.1	5.0	3.6	n
1977	3853	127	3726	3.29	96.70	.2	6.0	3.1	30

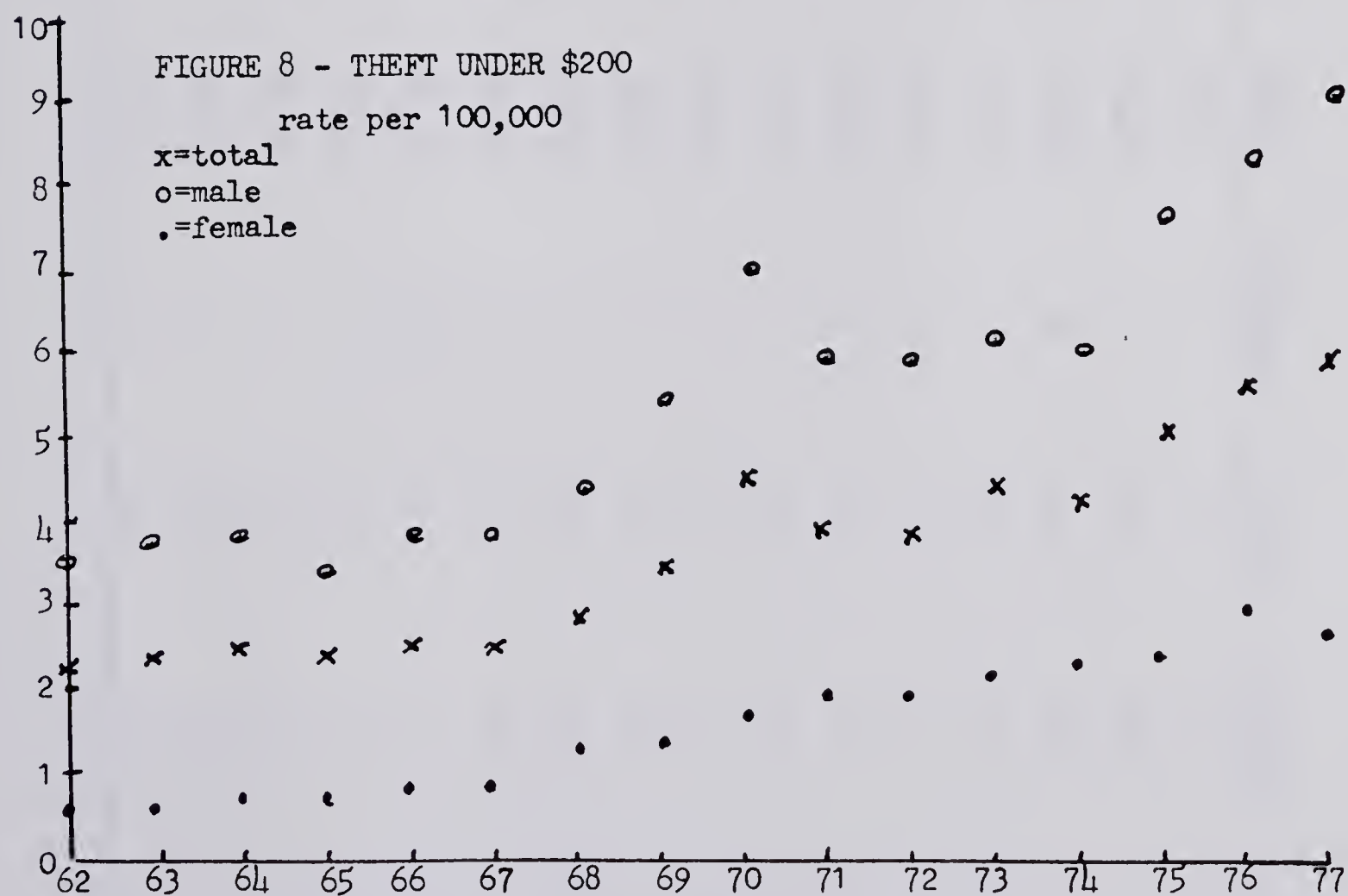
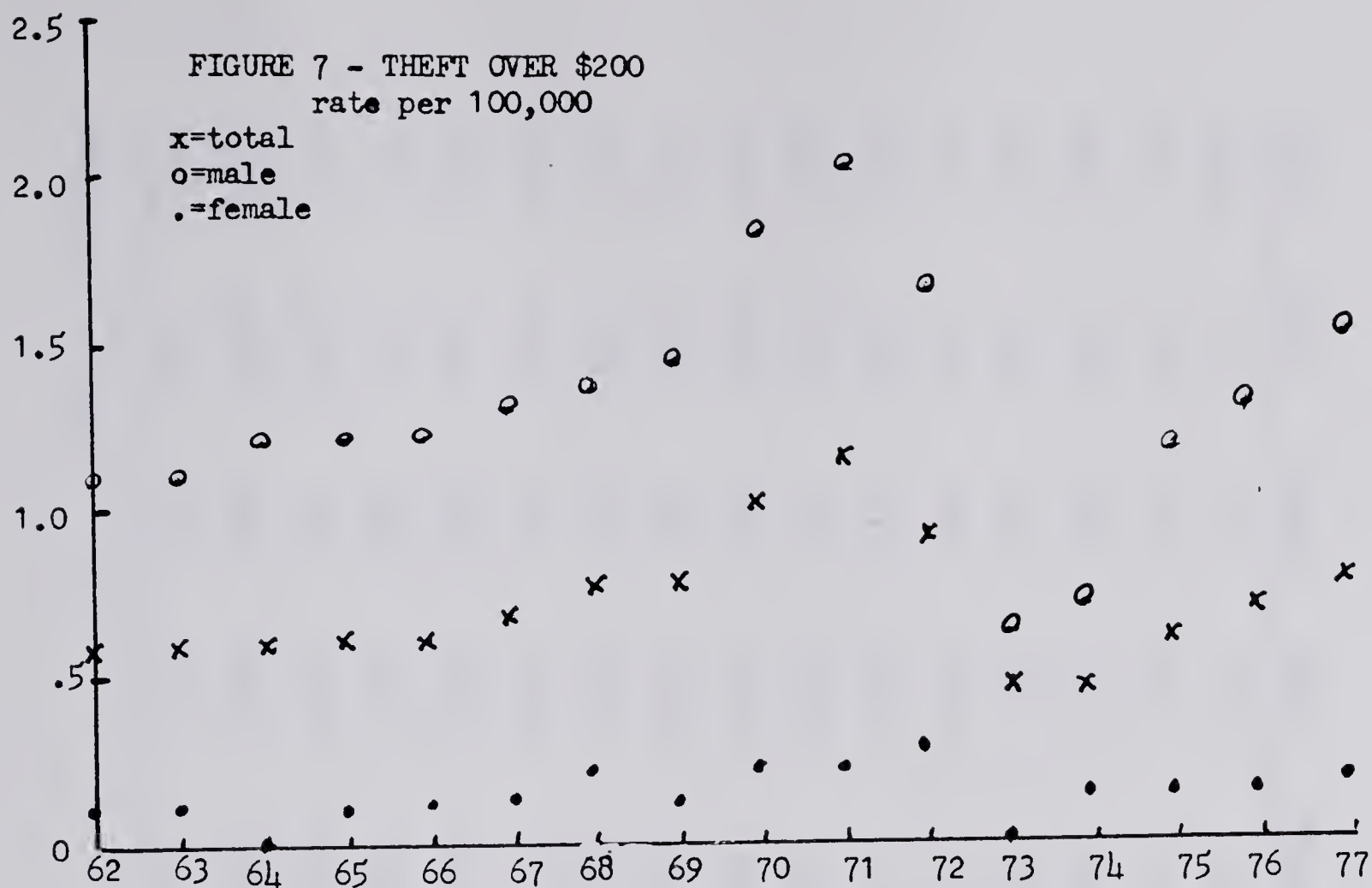
TABLE 4.9 - BREAK AND ENTER

Year	Total	Female	Male	%Female	%Male	P.Female	P.Male	P.Total	M/F
1962	522	43	479	8.23	91.76	.1	1.1	.6	11
1963	554	42	512	7.58	92.41	.1	1.1	.6	11
1964	572	36	536	6.29	93.70	.0	1.2	.6	n
1965	561	58	503	10.33	89.66	.1	1.1	.6	11
1966	559	60	499	10.73	89.26	.1	1.1	.6	11
1967	626	82	544	13.09	86.90	.1	1.2	.7	12
1968	758	106	652	13.98	86.01	.2	1.3	.8	6.5
1969	791	80	711	10.11	89.88	.1	1.4	.8	14
1970	1034	105	929	10.15	89.84	.2	1.8	1.0	9
1971	1288	149	1039	11.56	80.66	.2	2.0	1.2	10
1972	1028	179	849	17.39	82.58	.3	1.6	.9	5.33
1973	473	50	423	10.57	89.42	.0	.7	.4	n
1974	513	66	447	12.86	87.13	.12	.8	.4	8
1975	765	88	677	11.50	88.49	.15	1.2	.6	8
1976	858	91	767	10.60	89.39	.15	1.3	.7	8
1977	1031	104	927	10.08	89.91	.17	1.5	.8	8

TABLE 4.10 - THEFT OVER \$200

Year	Total	Female	Male	%Female	%Male	P. Female	P. Male	P. Total	M/F
1962	1755	264	1491	14.92	84.95	.6	3.5	2.1	5.83
1963	1936	263	1073	13.58	86.41	.6	3.8	2.3	6.33
1964	2039	293	1746	14.36	85.63	.7	3.9	2.4	5.57
1965	2002	327	1675	16.33	83.66	.7	3.7	2.3	5.28
1966	2113	362	1751	17.30	82.86	.8	3.9	2.4	4.87
1967	2181	394	1787	18.06	81.93	.8	3.9	2.4	4.87
1968	2641	513	2128	19.42	80.57	1.1	4.5	2.8	4.09
1969	3158	591	2567	18.71	81.28	1.2	5.3	3.3	4.41
1970	4363	916	3447	20.99	79.00	1.8	6.9	4.4	3.83
1971	4059	970	3089	23.89	76.10	1.9	6.0	4.0	3.15
1972	4196	1017	3179	24.23	75.76	1.9	6.0	4.0	3.15
1973	4664	1197	3467	25.66	74.33	2.2	6.4	4.3	2.90
1974	4702	1271	3431	27.03	72.96	2.3	6.1	4.2	2.65
1975	5711	1356	4355	23.74	76.25	2.4	7.6	5.0	3.16
1976	6494	1707	4787	26.28	73.71	2.9	8.1	5.5	2.79
1977	7113	1035	5478	22.98	77.01	2.7	8.9	5.8	3.29

TABLE 4.11 - THEFT UNDER \$200



Year	Total	Female	Male	%Female	%Male	P.Female	P.Male	P.Total	M/F
1962	1835	100	1735	5.44	94.55	.2	4.0	2.2	20
1963	1878	115	1763	6.12	93.87	.2	4.0	2.2	20
1964	1778	107	1671	6.00	93.98	.2	3.8	2.0	19
1965	1484	132	1352	8.89	91.10	.3	3.0	1.7	10
1966	1496	100	1396	7.16	92.81	.2	3.1	1.7	15.2
1967	1599	118	1481	7.37	92.62	.2	3.2	1.7	16
1968	1817	151	1666	8.31	91.68	.3	3.5	1.9	11.6
1969	2024	194	1830	9.58	90.40	.4	3.7	2.1	9.25
1970	2150	207	1943	9.62	90.37	.4	3.9	2.1	9.75
1971	2058	199	1859	9.66	90.33	.3	3.6	2.0	12
1972	1813	213	1600	11.74	88.25	.4	3.0	1.7	7.5
1973	1803	257	1546	14.25	85.74	.4	2.8	1.6	7
1974	1755	226	1529	12.87	87.12	.4	2.8	1.5	7
1975	2202	320	1882	14.53	85.46	.5	3.2	1.9	6.4
1976	2605	385	2220	14.77	85.22	.6	3.6	2.3	6
1977	3334	532	2802	15.95	84.04	.8	4.5	2.7	5.6

TABLE 4.12 - FRAUD

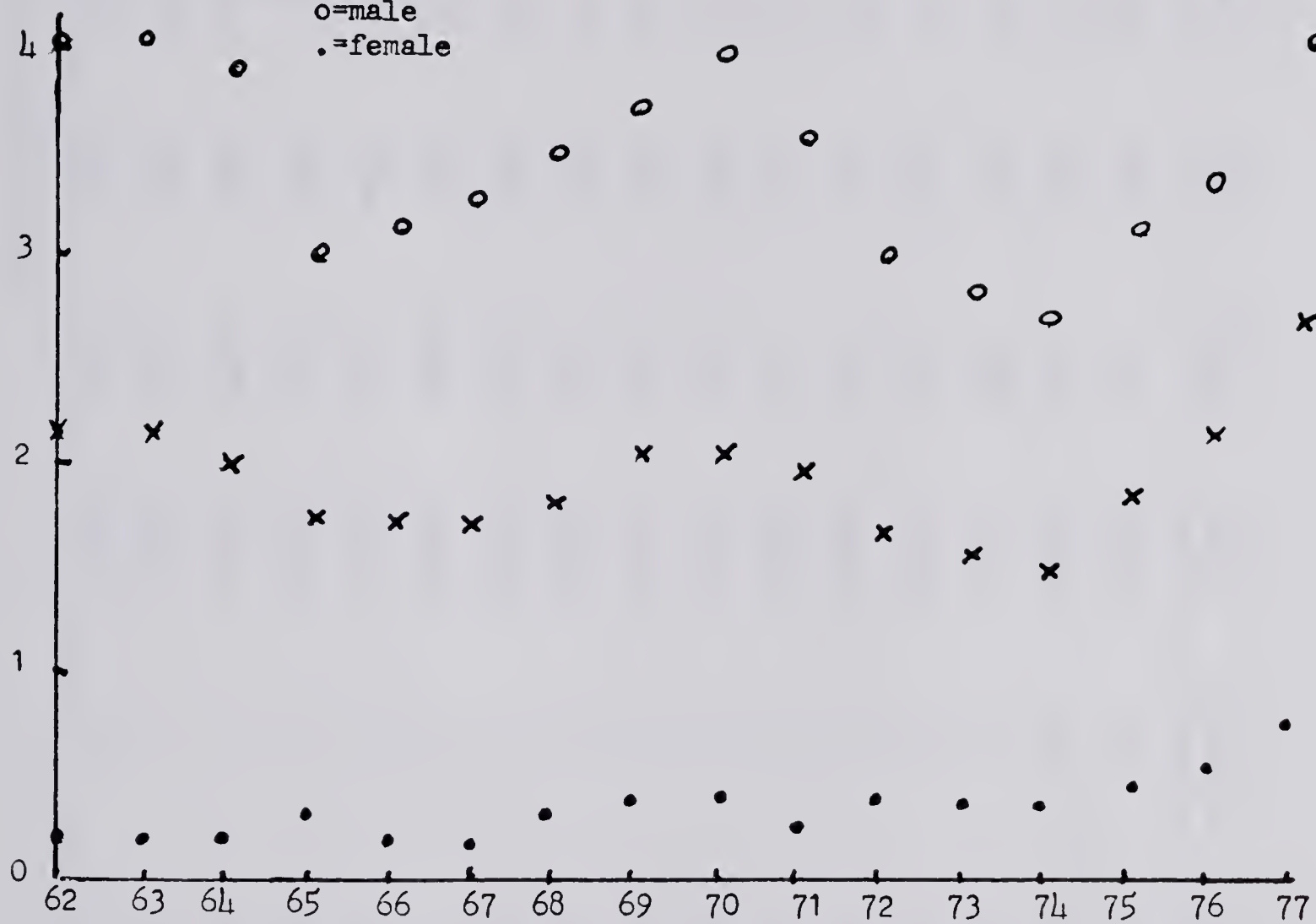
FIGURE 9 - FRAUD

rate per 100,000

x=total

o=male

.=female



Year	Total	Female	Male	%Female	%Male	P.Female	P.Male	P.Total	M/F
1962	501	35	466	6.98	93.02	0	1.0	.6	n
1963	683	54	629	7.90	92.09	0	1.4	.8	n
1964	644	32	612	4.96	95.03	0	1.3	.7	n
1965	586	36	550	6.14	93.85	0	1.2	.6	n
1966	570	29	541	5.08	94.91	0	1.2	.6	n
1967	677	43	634	6.35	93.94	0	1.3	.7	n
1968	805	39	766	4.84	95.15	0	1.6	.8	n
1969	873	42	831	4.81	95.18	0	1.7	.9	n
1970	1209	77	1132	6.36	93.63	.1	2.2	1.2	22
1971	1227	75	1152	6.11	93.88	.1	2.2	1.2	22
1972	1217	79	1138	6.49	93.50	.1	2.1	1.1	21
1973	1045	81	964	7.75	92.24	.1	1.7	.9	17
1974	1079	69	1010	6.39	93.60	.1	1.8	.9	18
1975	1391	94	1297	6.75	93.24	.1	2.1	1.2	21
1976	1031	108	1523	6.62	93.37	.1	2.5	1.4	25
1977	1597	126	1471	7.88	92.11	.2	2.3	1.3	11.5

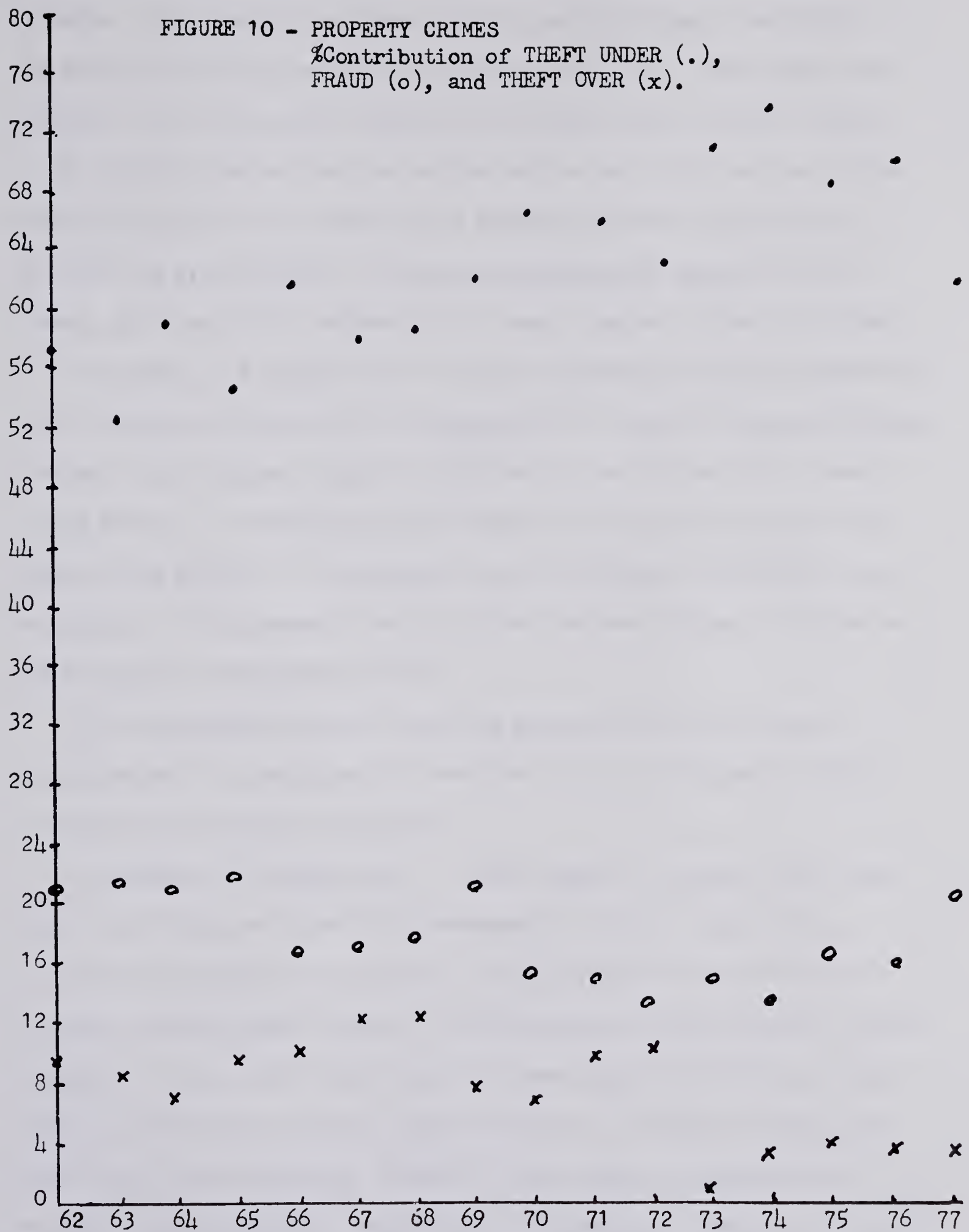
TABLE 4.13 - POSSESSION OF STOLEN GOODS

Year	Total	Female	Male	%Female	%Male	P.Female	P.Male	P.Total	M/F
1962	590	3	587	.50	99.50	0	1.3	.5	n
1963	445	6	439	1.34	98.65	0	1.0	.5	n
1964	608	12	596	1.97	98.03	0	1.3	.7	n
1965	577	20	557	3.46	96.53	0	1.2	.6	n
1966	598	16	572	2.67	95.65	0	1.2	.6	n
1967	678	8	670	1.17	98.82	0	1.4	.7	n
1968	694	22	672	3.17	96.82	0	1.4	.7	n
1969	773	11	762	1.42	98.57	0	1.5	.8	n
1970	909	24	885	2.64	97.35	0	1.7	.9	n
1971	902	21	881	2.32	97.67	0	1.7	.8	n
1972	886	18	868	2.03	97.96	0	1.6	.8	n
1973	1032	22	1010	2.13	97.86	0	1.8	.9	n
1974	1156	27	1129	2.33	97.66	0	2.0	1.0	n
1975	1280	34	1246	2.65	97.34	0	2.1	1.1	n
1976	1310	41	1269	3.12	96.87	0	2.1	1.1	n
1977	1558	88	1470	5.64	94.35	.1	2.3	1.2	23

TABLE 4.14 - AUTO THEFT

Year	Total Female		Theft Under	%Theft Under	Fraud	%Fraud	Theft Over	%Theft Over
	Property Crimes							
1962	459		264	57.50	100	21.78	43	9.36
1963	496		263	53.02	115	23.18	42	8.46
1964	500		293	58.60	107	21.40	36	7.20
1965	601		327	54.40	132	21.96	58	9.65
1966	584		362	61.98	100	17.12	60	10.27
1967	679		394	58.02	118	17.37	82	12.07
1968	876		513	58.56	151	17.23	106	12.10
1969	948		591	62.34	194	20.46	80	8.43
1970	1362		916	67.25	207	15.19	105	7.70
1971	1452		970	66.80	199	13.70	149	10.26
1972	1581		1017	64.32	213	13.47	179	11.32
1973	1674		1197	71.50	257	15.35	257	2.98
1974	1702		1271	74.67	226	13.27	66	3.87
1975	1972		1356	68.76	320	16.22	88	4.46
1976	2422		1707	70.47	385	15.89	91	3.75
1977	2612		1635	62.59	532	20.36	104	3.98

TABLE 4.15 - CONTRIBUTION OF SPECIFIC OFFENCES TO THE TOTAL PROPERTY CRIME CATEGORY



it is clear that crimes of property committed by females are increasing. Once again, even when the male rate declines considerably in the early 1970's, the female rate continued to climb - even though only slightly - or to level off. That is, the female rates are not subject to the extreme fluctuations as are the male rates; this could be either because the rate is low initially or because different precipitators for each sex are in effect. If one is espousing the masculinization theory, then the latter explanation is less acceptable than the former.

In general, it appears that the first hypothesis would be accepted, i.e., the female crime rate is increasing with regard to property crimes, however, this acceptance must be qualified by saying that the increase is not large. In considering the second hypothesis, one can only say that at some points it is acceptable, but at others it definitely must be rejected. (This seems to reflect much the same problem as Mukherjee and Fitzgerald experienced, 1978).

It is noticeable however, that the period prior to 1970 (pre - "emancipation") is consistently lower than the post 1970 period which demonstrates consistent increases.

It appears that these data offer support to Simon (1975) and others in finding and expecting increases in property crimes only.

It is especially consequential that, as Figure 10 and Table 4.15 indicate, "theft under" accounts for the majority of the property crimes category. In fact this effect may carry over into the findings of the combined violent and property crimes category. As Cameron (1964) and others have often purported, 70-80% of such crimes are shoplifting. If so, then certainly Alberta women have not increased in "masculine" typed criminal behavior, however, they have increased in criminal behavior

parallel to their legitimate social roles, i.e., shoplifting as an extension of the shopper role (and exacerbated by the consumer role and orientation). Even the crime of fraud has not increased over the time period, except in the final few years, and this is insufficient to be considered a trend.

As Hoffman-Bustemante (1973) insists, women do not have access to the necessary knowledge to commit break and enters, although Table may indicate that the slight increase at the end of the study may continue, such that eventually females will be contributing a more substantial amount to these crimes. (Again, however, both hypothesis must be rejected for the sub-category of break and enter.)

The "theft over" sub-category (Figure 7, Table 4.10) appears to be relatively stable. In fact this rate was so low that when the offence was reclassified to theft over \$200 from theft over \$50 the following years for women failed to alter considerably although it is possible that a slight trend seems to have been interrupted. For males this change causes a very substantial decrease for the following years.

For theft under (Table 4.11 and Figure 8) the female rate is definitely on the rise. However, - and here is the most consequential statement - the increase is not as great as that for males. Thus we will accept the first hypothesis, but again the second is rejected.

Fraud has increased only slightly over the seventeen year period (Table 4.12, Figure 9). Noteably, it is not subjected to the fluctuations of the male rate in the 1970's, whereas in the 1960's it did correspond to the male rate.

In the sub-category of possession of stolen goods, women have only recently (since 1970) been "in" the statistics enough to discuss, as with break and enter offences, it is yet too soon to establish trends, increases, etc. One can only say that relative to males their overall contribution to the crime statistics is insignificant.

Women's participation in the sub-category of Auto Theft (Table 4.14) is again so small as to be not worthy of consideration here. It may be worthwhile, however, to evaluate juvenile female participation over time in the offence, as well as break and enter crimes, for significant changes over time and in relation to males.

In sum, for the category of property crimes only the sub-categories of theft under and fraud have accumulated increases worth considering for the purposes of this study. As a general category, one could say that property crimes are increasing but not at a greater rate than male increases - and certainly not at a drastic or alarming rate. This would suggest that common precipitating factors are involved. On the other hand, it is only on the basis of the sub-category of theft under (which contributes more to the total category than the rest of the sub-categories combined by far) can the first hypothesis be accepted; and the second remains unsupported for this category. Mention must also be made of the effect the theft under sub-category carries to the combined category of theft and violent offences.

One must conclude that, for Alberta, the first hypothesis must be rejected with the single exception of the "fraud" and "assault" sub-categories.

2) FEMALE VERSUS MALE PARTICIPATION, PROPORTIONAL CONTRIBUTION BY SEX

As Mukherjee and Fitzgerald (1978) stated, proportions do not necessarily correspond with rates per 100,000 for the sexes. That is, the proportion of male to female crime rates can illustrate changes which the simple rates cannot. As the proportion decreases, the difference between the male crime rate and the female crime rate also decreases; i.e., the female crime rate increases faster than the rate for male (and vice versa).

a). All Crimes. Figure 11 would indicate that the proportion of male to female participation in all criminal categories is inconsistent as far as trends are concerned. In general, one would not consider the first or the second hypothesis to be an accurate account of what has happened with this category in Alberta.¹

b). Violent and Property Crimes Combined. In this instance, as Figure 12 suggests, the proportion of males to females is consistently decreasing. More cannot be said without looking at categories and sub-categories.

c). Crimes of Violence. Figures 13 and 14 represent the proportions for these crimes. With crimes of violence as a category it again appears that the trend is for the proportion of males to females to decrease over time. At this point one must recall that only the sub-category of assault was significant; it is best to say that for assaults the proportion is decreasing.

d). Property Crimes. For property crimes, the proportions support the rates as interpreted previously, i.e., the differential contribution of the sexes is decreasing (Figure 15). However, this seems to be a direct effect of the theft under and fraud sub-categories (Figures 17, 18)

¹ This must be the case because if the first is rejected, i.e., if there is no increase in female crime, then the second is automatically rejected, i.e., the rate for females is not increasing faster than the rate for males.

FIGURE 11 - ALL CRIMES
MALE/FEMALE RATIO

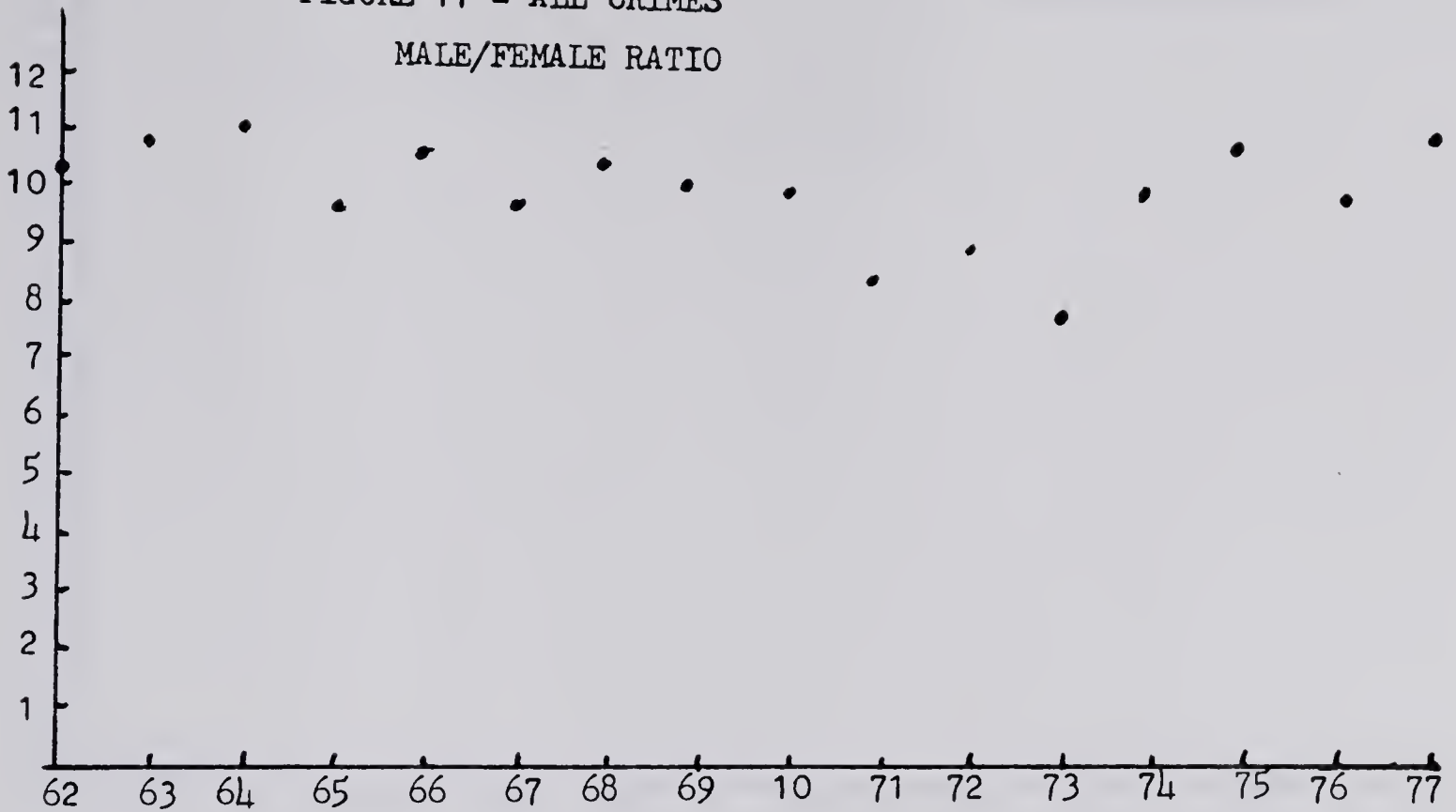
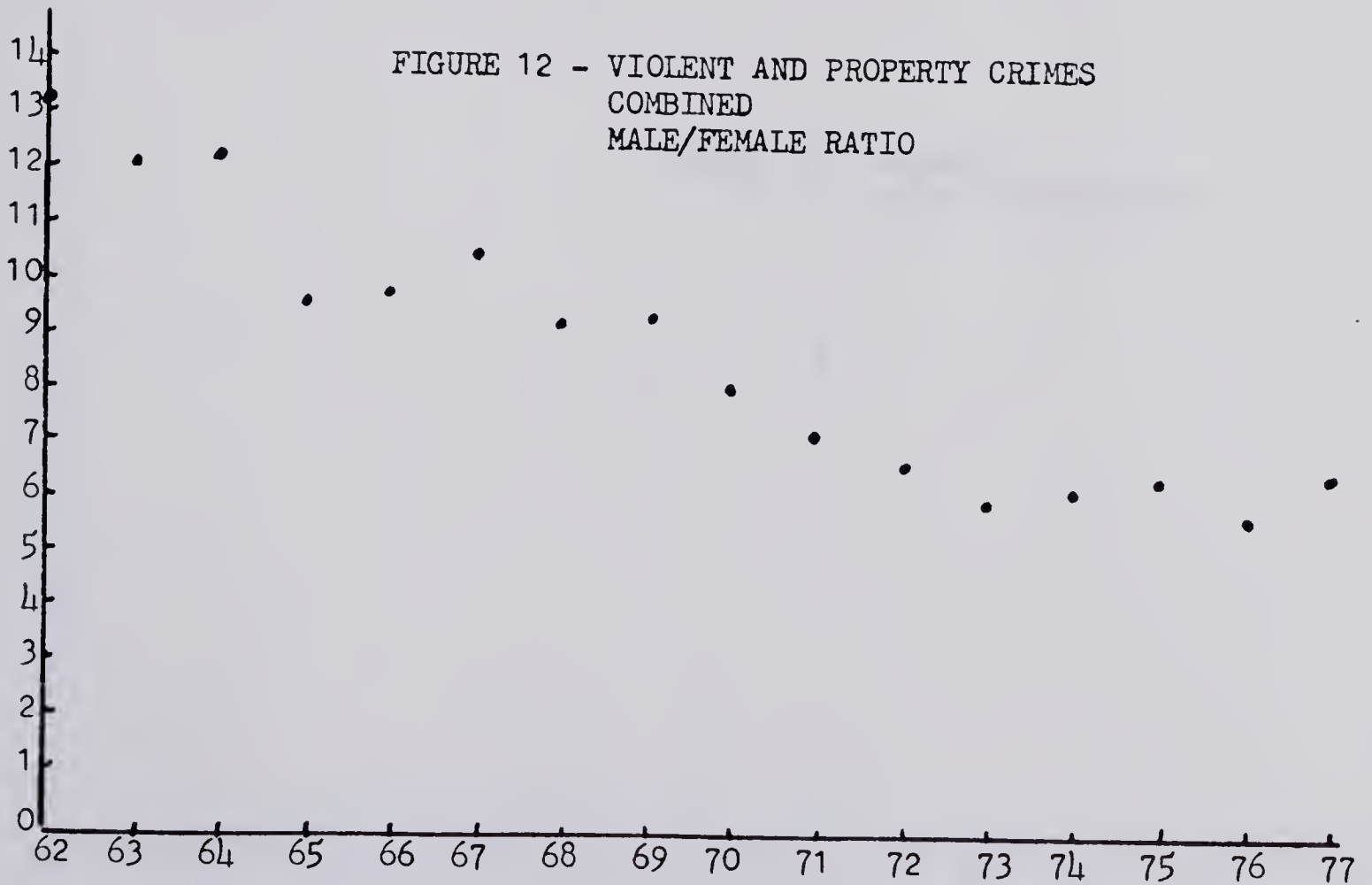
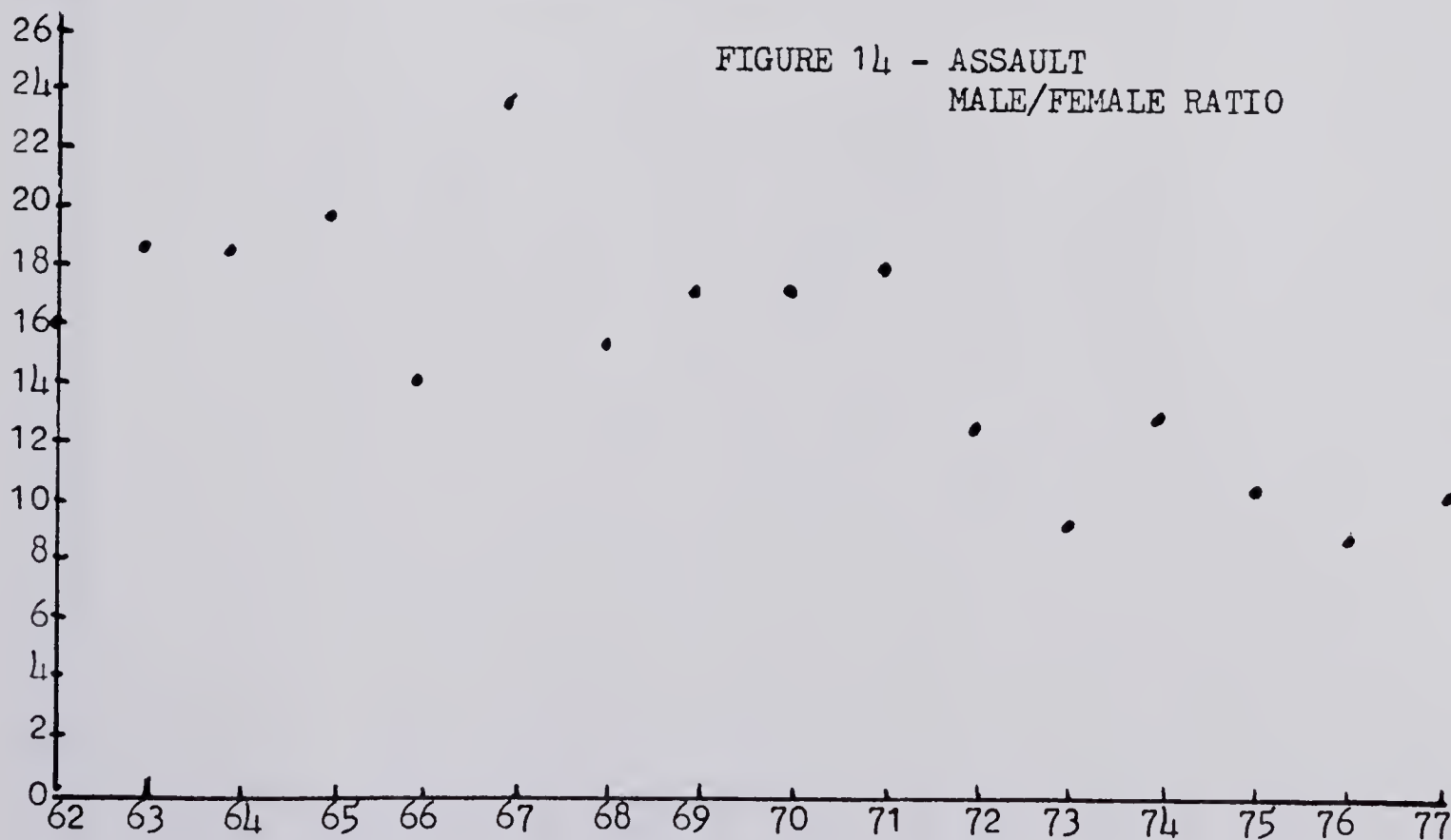
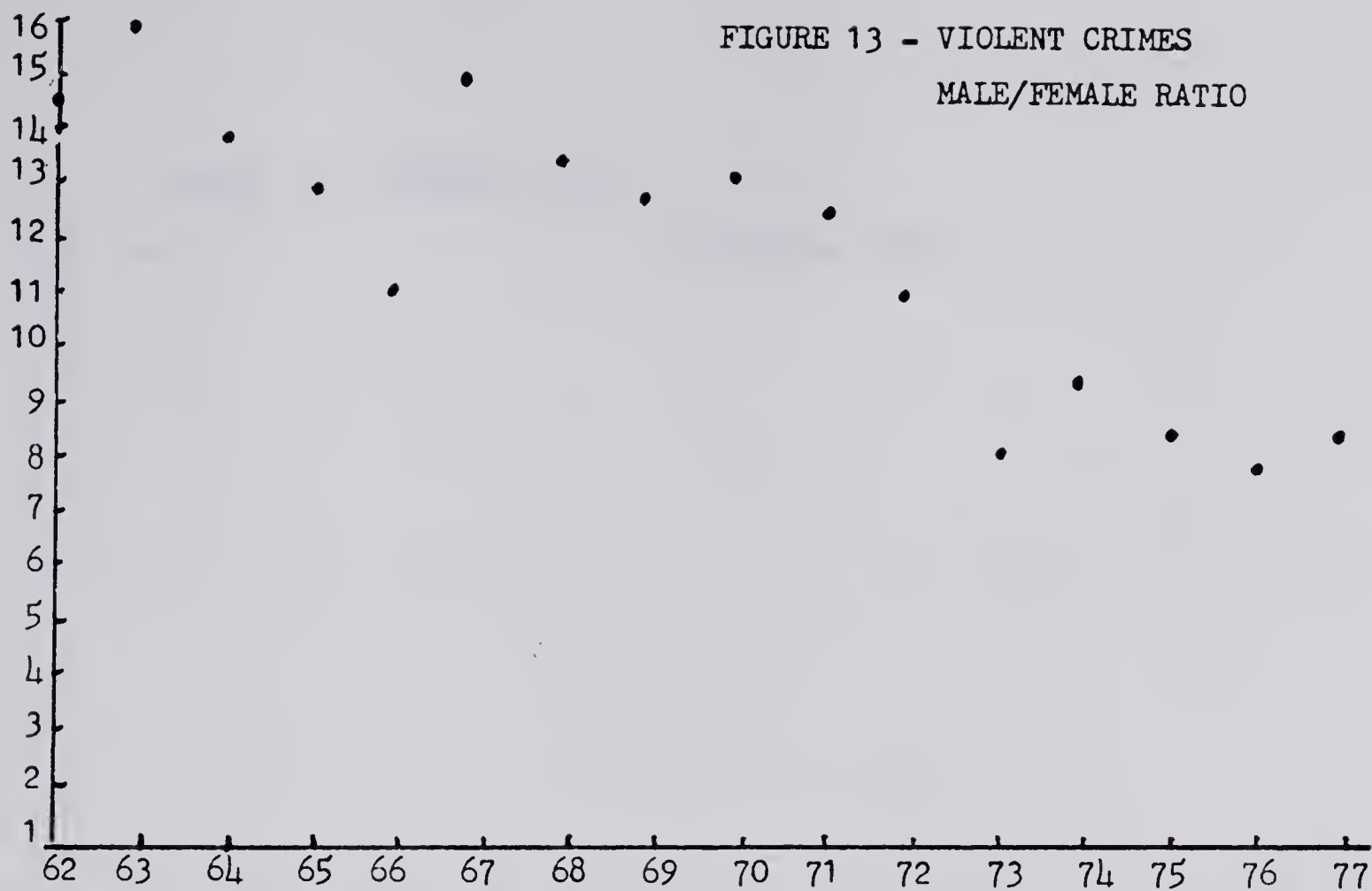


FIGURE 12 - VIOLENT AND PROPERTY CRIMES
COMBINED
MALE/FEMALE RATIO





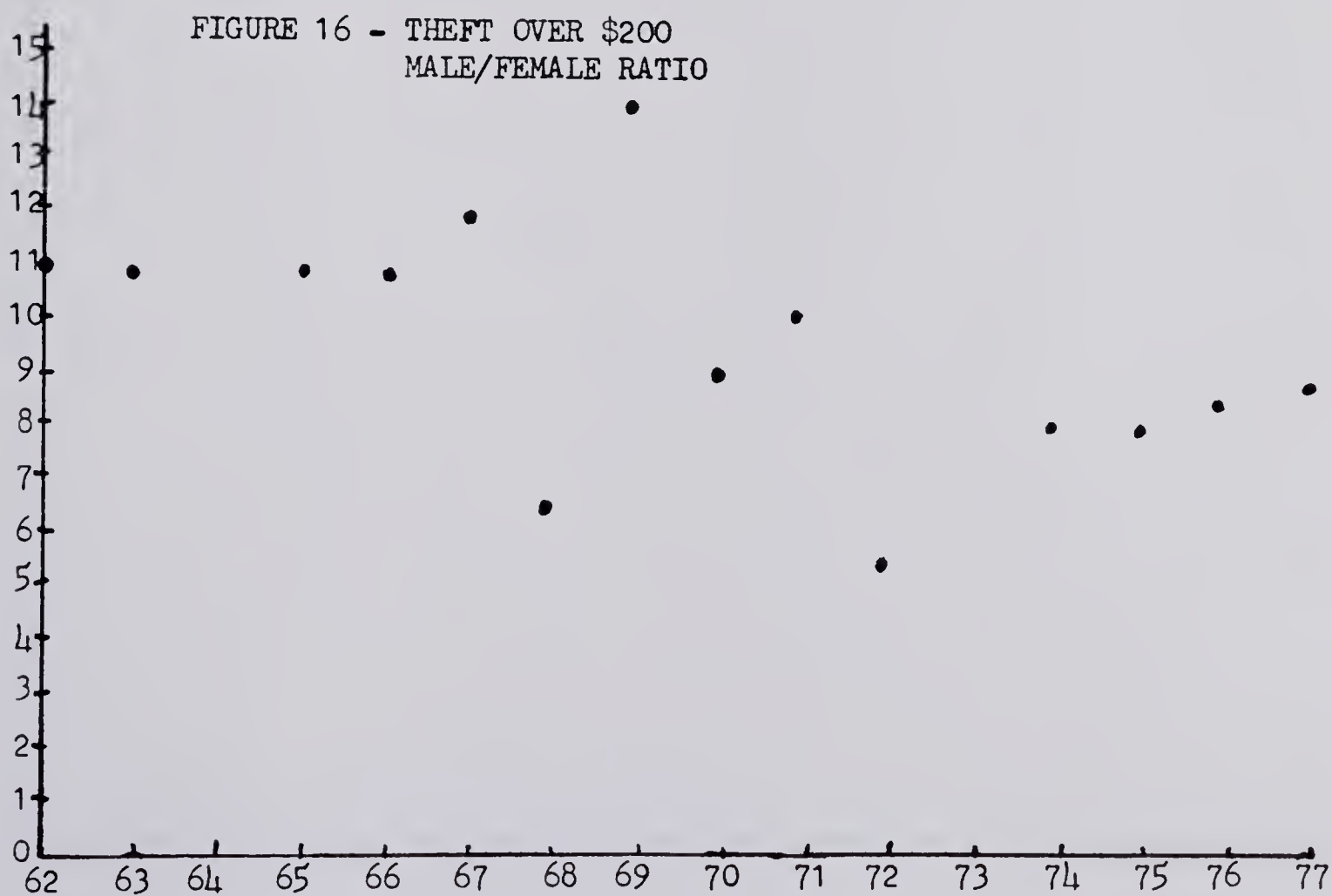
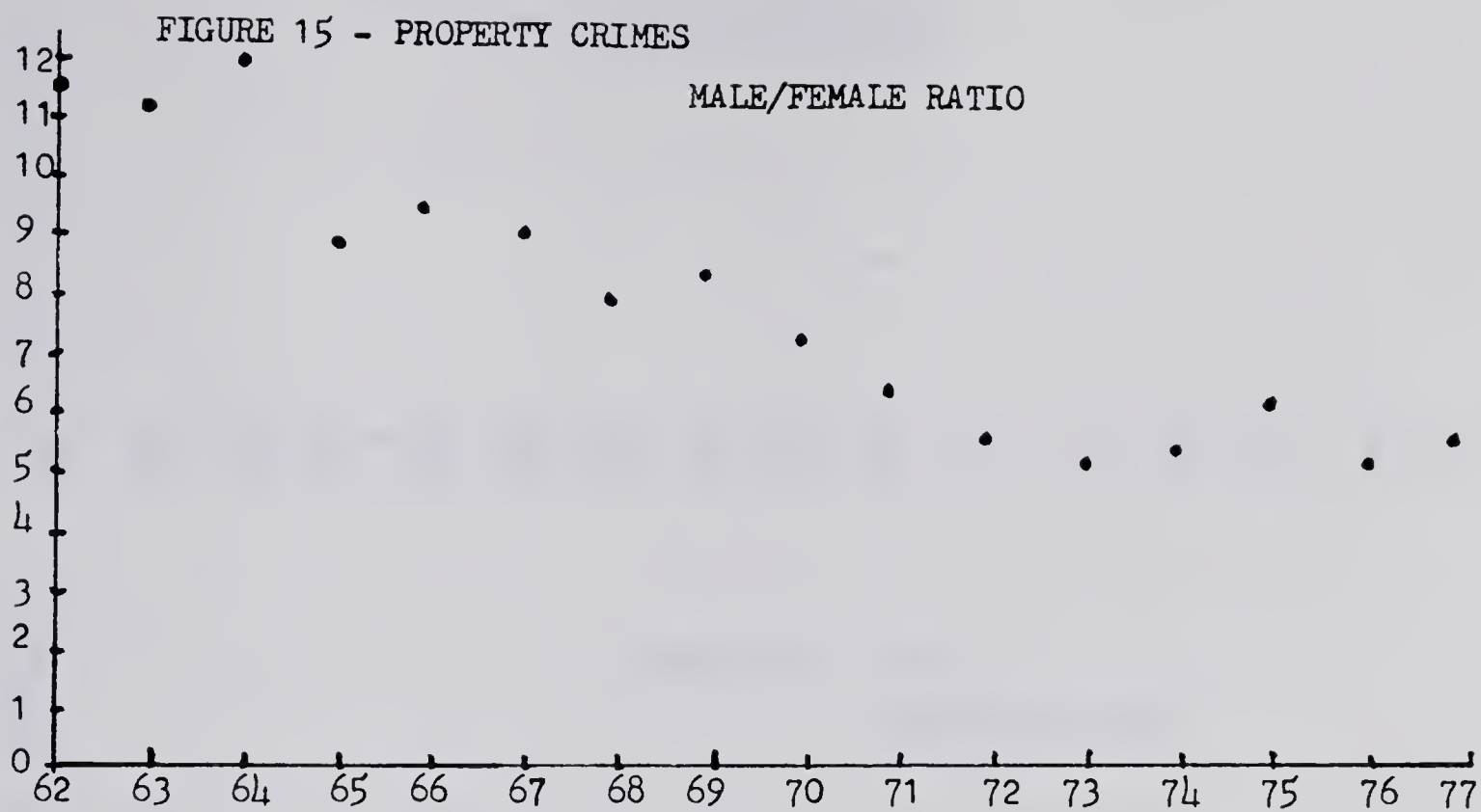


FIGURE 17 - THEFT UNDER \$200
MALE/FEMALE RATIO

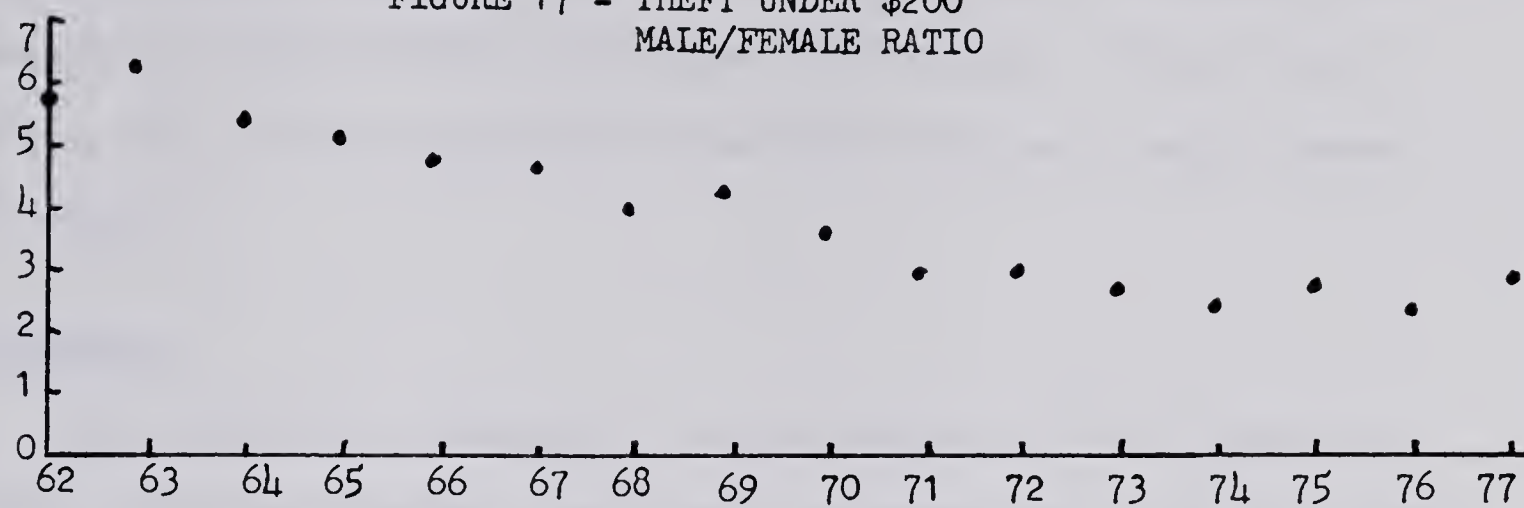
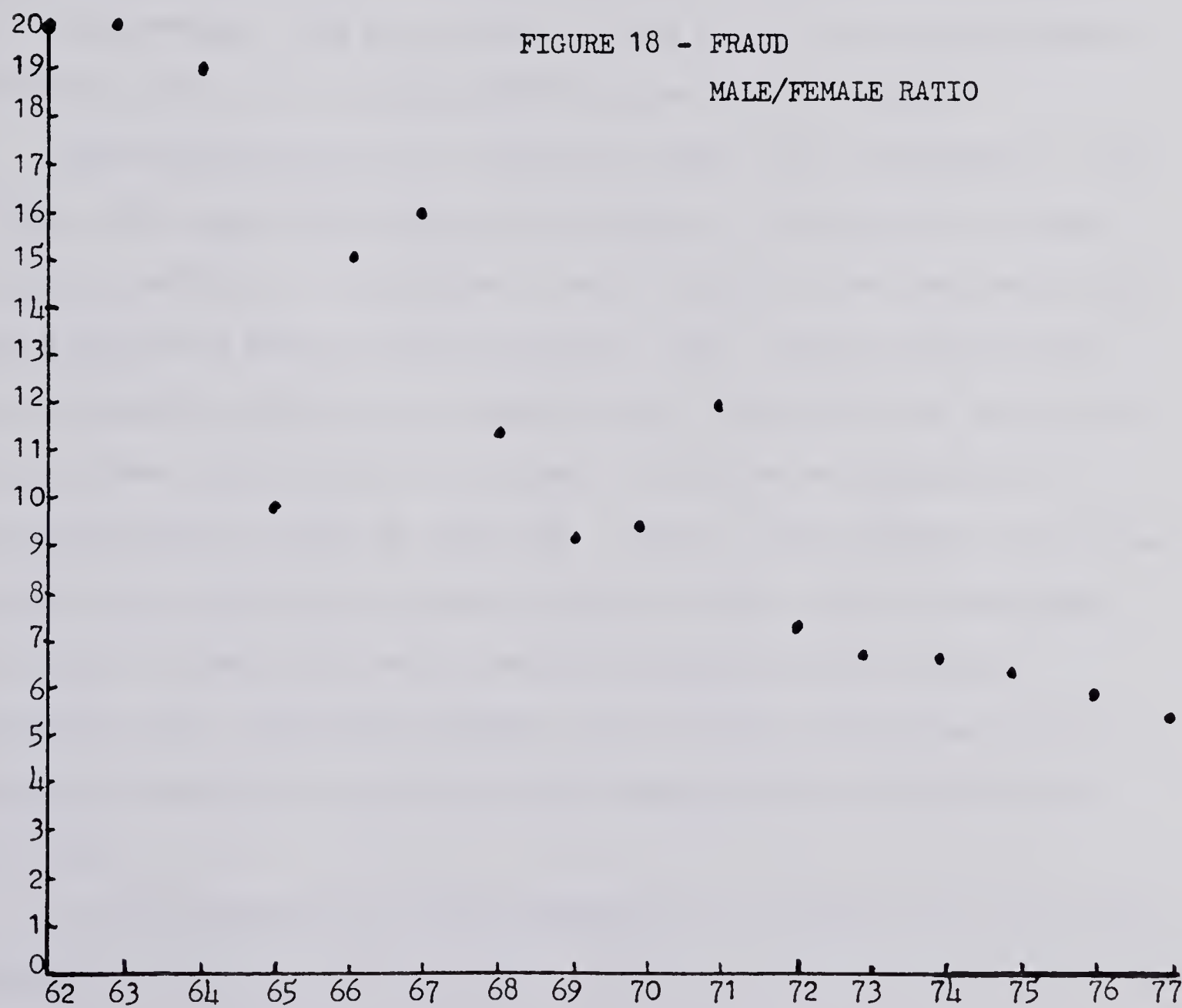


FIGURE 18 - FRAUD
MALE/FEMALE RATIO



as discussed earlier. That is, in these two sub-categories females participation is increasing, and at a rate high enough to decrease the proportion of male to female participation in Alberta. Figure 16 indicates that a similar appraisal of the theft over sub-category cannot be levied.

CONCLUSION

The significant findings are for sub-categories: theft under and fraud as well as for assault (although to a lesser extent for the latter). In these cases, the the relative participation of females to males seems to be increasing. That is, for these crimes only are the two hypotheses supported, the first to a much greater degree than the second.

These findings are c o n s i s t e n t with Simon 1975; Steffensmeir, 1978; Bartel, 1979; and others discussed previously. At this point it is necessary to mention the limitations of such findings as has been exemplified and presented by Mukherjee and Fitzgerald (1978). While these findings may accommodate Alberta over a seventeen year time period one cannot proceed to make predictions to the future; neither can one generalize to other locations in space at this time. That is, these findings are limited by both space and time; we cannot say with accuracy that in Saskatchewan or British Columbia the same situation has prevailed over the same seventeen year time period; neither can we predict that in the next ten years the trends and results which have been presented for Alberta will continue.

Further discussion of these findings will be carried out in the final chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA FROM INMATES

It must be remembered that data obtained from inmates for this study are purely for illustrative purposes; as such, it is intended to be supplementary to the "official" data as presented and discussed in the previous chapter. It is not expected that these data represent all women convicted in Alberta, and it is probable that a strong class bias exists in terms of predicting female criminality. However, the findings do provide us with a profile of the women who reach the institutions, as such, there is a valuable element in the data. Further, it allows the research to examine data comparable to Adler (1975).

A check was completed for all women interviewed comparing information on their files with that which was freely given. It should be noted that there were few major differences; the majority of the discrepancies can be attributed to failure to recall minor aspects of extensive offence histories and experience with the legal system. Only two persons neglected to recall any of their past criminal life, even though it was extensive in both cases. A check with their files easily rectified this oversight. Only six of the forty women interviewed had never served time in at least a provincial jail prior to their current sentence - this included those on remand. Two of the six were non-Canadians and their prior records were not obtainable but their own presentation of their offence history was accepted.

In sum then, 40 acceptable interviews were obtained after conducting a pilot test on three inmates. Considering the small size of the population available it was felt that three provided an adequate pilot study size.

Interviews were conducted on a voluntary basis; there were two refusals and two completed interviews which had to be omitted from the final sample. One woman was very obstinate and her responses were of questionable honesty, the other woman was on strong medication.

First, a demographic profile of these women will be presented; the total group will be divided into categories for further analysis. Secondly, the women will be evaluated in terms of a) orientation; b) type of crime; c) role placement; and d) control - as discussed in Chapter Three. Finally, the data will be discussed in terms of the theories examined in Chapter Two.

The reason for the special treatment of natives in these data is that they are over represented in the Provincial Jails, and given that the theories examined are culturally biased, it was felt that any response bias due to somewhat different cultural background should be controlled for.

1 DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

The demographic data will be discussed in terms of overall sample (N=40) which will be separated into native (N=17) and non-native (N=23); also where appropriate, violent offenders (N=13) and property offenders (N=12).

AGE. The mean age of the overall group was 25.7 years; the age range was 17 to 42 years. Table 5.1 shows the number of women in each age group for natives, non-natives, violent offenders and property offenders in terms of the offences for which they are serving time.

AGE GROUPS OF INTERVIEWED WOMEN - TABLE 5.1

AGE GROUP	TOTAL	NATIVE	NON-NATIVE	VIOLENT	PROPERTY
17-19	2	1	1	1	0
20-24	22	10	12	7	6
25-29	7	1	6	2	2
30-34	4	2	2	1	2
35-39	3	2	1	1	1
40-42	2	1	1	1	1
	<u>40</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>
\bar{X}	25.7	26.47	25	25.6	27.6

The mean age of the natives was 26.5, ranging from 17 to 40; while the mean age of non-natives was 25 and ranged from 19 to 42. The property offenders as a group are the oldest ($\bar{X} = 27.6$), 2 years older than the violent offenders ($\bar{X} = 25.6$).

MARITAL STATUS. Table 5.2 presents the most recent marital status of the women, for example, if widowed but living common-law she is considered common-law.

MARITAL STATUS OF INTERVIEWED WOMEN - TABLE 5.2

STATUS	TOTAL	NATIVE	NON-NATIVE	VIOLENT	PROPERTY
MARRIED	8	4	4	0	4
C.L.	8	5	3	4	1
DIVORCED	9	2	7	4	3
SEPARATED	2	1	1	1	1
SINGLE	12	4	8	4	3
WIDOW	1	1	0	0	0
	<u>40</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>

The greatest proportion of the violent offenders are living alone, while the property offenders have the greatest number of married women. Bartel found that "married women are more likely to commit property crimes" especially theft (Bartel, 1979:8).

NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF THE INMATES - TABLE 5.3

NUMBER	TOTAL	NATIVE	NON-NATIVE	VIOLENT	PROPERTY
0	13	4	9	3	3
1	14	5	9	4	5
2	7	3	4	4	2
3	1	1	0	0	1
4	3	2	1	1	1
5	2	2	0	1	0
	<u>40</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>

EDUCATION. Table 5.4 shows the years of completed education for the women.

EDUCATION OF THE INMATES - TABLE 5.4

YEARS	TOTAL	NATIVE	NON-NATIVE
5	2	2	0
6	1	0	1
7	1	1	0
8	2	1	1
9	8	5	3
10	7	3	4
11	6	2	4
12	9	2	7
14	3	0	3
	<u>40</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>23</u>
\bar{X}	10	8	11

The natives obviously had a lower level of education than the non-natives ($\bar{X} = 8$ years and $\bar{X} = 11$ years respectively), but the mean education of 10 years is also low. Crites (1977), Simon (1975), Velim-esis (1975) and others have commented on the low levels of education for women offenders.

WORK ON OUTSIDE - TABLE 5.5

WORK	TOTAL	NATIVE	NON-NATIVE	VIOLENT	PROPERTY
HOMEBOY/BABYSITTER	10	6	4	5	0
JANITOR/COOK/CLEANING	8	6	2	4	3
HOSPITAL/DAY CARE	2	0	2	0	2
SECRETARY/BOOK-KEEPER	6	0	6	1	3
CASHIER/TELEPHONE OP.					
WAITRESS/BARMAID	4	2	2	1	1
NON-CONVENTIONAL*	6	0	6	1	1
STUDENT	1	0	1	0	1
NO ANSWER ⁺	3	3	0	1	1
	<u>40</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>

*non-conventional= cabinet maker/race horses/seismograph.

+no answer = refused to say.

Table 5.5 shows the work the women do while they are on the outside. Only six of the forty did non-conventional types of work when they were on the outside; these were all non-natives; four of these were in jail for drug offences, one for a violent crime and one for property crime.

One-quarter were housewives, homebodies, etc. and 20% did cleaning or cook work - certainly not the occupation of the "liberated woman". It is significant that 6 of the forty had typically female occupations (secretary, book-keeper, hairdresser, cashier, telephone operator) and that all six of these were non-native. The natives seem to experience more limited opportunity in the areas of work and with their education none of them had white-collar jobs; neither did any of the non-natives have higher level white collar jobs. One of the women, a book-keeper, wrote a check on the small business she worked for but as discussed in the literature review, her position made it impossible for her to cover up the fraud or allow restitution before being caught.

OFFENCES. In light of the occupational situations of the women the type of offences committed by these women are interesting. Table 5.6 shows their offence by status.

OFFENCE TYPE BY STATUS - TABLE 5.6

	NATIVE	NON-NATIVE	TOTAL
VIOLENT	9	4	13
PROPERTY	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>	12
	13	12	

The native women, possibly because their jobs allow less "opportunity" for property crimes, tended to fall into the violent offence category. Certainly alcohol problems caused a significant amount of their violent offences. Tables 5.7, 5.8, and 5.9 tell more about the offences and how the women rate in terms of "masculine" or "feminine" types of crimes. In general, there seems to be a lack of support for the concept that the women's rights movement has contributed to their criminality.

VICTIMS OF THE OFFENCES - TABLE 5.7

VICTIMS	NATIVE	NON-NATIVE	VIOLENT	PROPERTY
KNOWN MALE	2	4	2	3
KNOWN FEMALE	2	0	2	0
UNKNOWN MALE	1	0	1	0
UNKNOWN FEMALE	1	0	1	0
WOULD NOT SAY	8	6	5	2
NO VICTIM	2	12	0	7
KNOWN MALE AND FEMALE CHILD	1	0	1	0
	<u>0</u> 17	<u>1</u> 23	<u>1</u> 13	<u>0</u> 12

ASSOCIATE OF THE OFFENDER - TABLE 5.8

	NATIVE	NON-NATIVE	VIOLENT	PROPERTY
SELF	7	9	4	7
ONE MAN	2	5	2	3
ONE WOMAN	2	2	1	2
MAN AND WOMAN	1	1	2	0
TWO WOMAN	1	6	1	0
MORE THAN TWO OTHERS	<u>4</u> 17	<u>0</u> 23	<u>3</u> 13	<u>0</u> 12

ROLE PLAYED BY THE OFFENDER - TABLE 5.9

	NATIVE	NON-NATIVE	VIOLENT	PROPERTY
SELF	7	9	4	7
EQUAL	7	5	6	2
DOMINANT	2	6	3	1
PASSIVE	<u>1</u> 17	<u>3</u> 23	<u>0</u> 13	<u>2</u> 12

ROLE PLAYED IF CRIME COMMITTED WITH ONE MAN - TABLE 5.10

EQUAL	2
DOMINANT	2
PASSIVE	<u>3</u> 7

In sum: these women are undereducated ($X=10$ years of education) and underemployed considering that the mean age is 25 years, 60% are unmarried, and 68% of them have children. It appears that natives are at a disadvantage in all of these categories.

The data did not support the literature with regard to the victims of violent crimes, only one victim was a child, only two were known males. Most of these crimes were committed by native women, often under the influence of alcohol. Less than one-third of the violent crimes were committed by the interviewee herself but the number and sex of the assistants was varied. Indeed, the number of these offences is so small that general statements must be treated with caution. None of the violent offenders claimed to be a passive participant in the act - again contrary to literature which suggests that these women play roles secondary to their male partners. They claimed either to be dominant (3/13) or contribute equally (6/13) if they had a partner at all (9/13).

With regard to property crimes, these are most often committed by non-native (8/12) (over a third of the non-native group) and 58% of the property offenders committed the offence by themselves. The mean age for property offenders was 27.6 years - older by two years than the violent offenders. More of the former (25%) are married than the latter (0%). There seems to be little difference in the number of children for the two offence groups. In terms of native status, however, 39% of

the non-natives had no children and the same number had only one child. The native women, as a whole, had more children.

The non-native women were only slightly more educated but did have an overall higher employment level - if they were employed (other than housewife).

These results will be briefly discussed in relation to the "official" data in the final chapter.

2 INDEX SCORES

The following table shows the mean scores of the women - divided into groups - in terms of a) their orientation, whether they are generally "conventional" or "liberated"; b) role placement, the role she plays and her attitude toward the role of women; c) control, her perceived degree of control over her own life. (The design of the scales is explained in Chapter 3 .)

MEAN SCORES FOR RESPONDENTS - TABLE 11

SCALE	NON-N.	NAT.	TOT.	VIO.	PROP.	RNG.	MED.
ORIEN.	49.9	47	48.7	48.1	49.1	14-98	56
RLE. PL.	42.1	38.5	40.5	41.9	42.1	10-70	40
CONTROL	52.7	47.8	50.6	51.6	44.3	16-112	64

STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR RESPONDENT MEAN SCORES - TABLE 12

SCALE	NON-N.	NAT.	TOT.	VIO.	PROP.
ORIEN.	10.8	11.9	11.2	10.0	11.3
RLE.PL.	7.1	7.6	7.4	4.6	7.4
CONTROL	11.9	16.7	14.2	16.7	14.2

a) ORIENTATION - Native women scored the lowest on the scale of "liberated" thought. In terms of property versus violent offenders there is little difference although because most property offenders were non-native this score is somewhat higher than that for the violent offenders who were mostly native.

If the individual had scored highest on each item in this scale she would have received a score of 98; the lowest possible score was 14. That the mean score was 48.7 for the total group with a standard deviation of 11.2 indicates that the scores were slightly lower than a median score of 64. Without a control group nothing more should be concluded.

b) **ROLE PLACEMENT** - Native women again scored lowest in terms of their attitude on the perceived status of their women's role in relation to that of men, although again the variation between the groups is inconsequential.

The highest possible score for this scale was 70 while the lowest was 10, the mean score of 40.5 with a standard deviation of 7.4 is right on the median. Again a control group would be necessary to warrant further conclusions.

c) **CONTROL** - Once again the native women (47.8) scored slightly lower than the non-native women (52.7) on the scale relating the perceived level of control over ones life; however, there is no significant differences in the score.

The property offenders scored much lower than the violent offenders (44.3 to 51.6 respectively) in terms of control over one's life but this difference is still not significant.

It is interesting that the largest difference is between the property offenders group and the non-native group - especially considering the fact that most of the property offenders were non-natives.

That the property group scores lowest brings forth several interpretations. In terms of role validation theory - which the major part of this study supports - these women could commit these crimes for economic reasons in a effort to improve their lives and their life options. That is, as Crites (1977) suggests, they may simply have surveyed their options and turned to crime in an attempt to gain control over their own lives. Because of their general low level of education, low numbers of stable marital relationships, i.e., they do not always have a man to

depend on, and low level of occupational status this seems to be the most reasonable interpretation. Unfortunately, until more data is gathered and a control group similarly evaluated, no further conclusions can be made.

The highest possible score was 98 on this scale and the lowest was 14. The mean score of 50.6 (with standard deviation of 14.2) below the median but not significantly.

d) GENERAL SCALE RESULTS - Little variation was found between the groups on each scale. Generally, the native women scored barely below the non-native in all scales; the violent offenders scored higher than the property offenders only on the control scale - but again the differences are insignificant. Women from the violent offender category deviated least from the mean than any other group.

Further conclusions in relation to the theories previously discussed cannot be made without control groups and comparisons between these and the interviewed inmates.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, a brief summary of the critical aspects of the theories is given. In conjunction with this, a discussion of the findings from the data in terms of the theories will be offered. Finally, suggestions will be made concerning future study in this area.

The hypotheses concerning increases in female criminal behavior over time and in relation to males are based on previous research by Adler, 1975; Simon, 1975; Mukherjee and Fitzgerald, 1978; Steffensmeir, 1978; Price, 1977; Fox and Hartagel, f.c.; Shover et al., 1978; Bartel, 1979; Shover and Norland, 1978; Weis, 1976; Crites, 1977; Hoffman-Bustemante, 1973; Noblit and Burcard, 1977; Velimesis, 1975; and other authors and researchers discussed in Chapter Two.

Specifically, Freda Adler, in Sisters in Crime, 1975, discussed recent alarming increases in female criminal behavior and the equally alarming percent of increases for women compared to those for males. Adler has since been criticized for basing her absolute conclusions on data converted to percent as opposed to the use of rates (Crites, 1977; Mukherjee and Fitzgerald, 1978; and others). While Adler discovered drastic increases for women - in all areas of crime - in relation to males, others found significant increases only in the area of property crimes - particularly petty theft (Simon, 1975; 1976; Steffensmeir, 1978; Klein and Kress, 1975; Fox and Hartnagel, f.c.; Weis, 1976; Bartel, 1979; etc.).

Thus, although there is a disagreement about the precise nature and magnitude of the increases, most authors agree that North American

females are becoming more criminal in one area or another. But while Adler suggests that women are developing an "imitative male machismo competitiveness", the alternate theory (role validation) suggests that the perceived economic necessity has increased for certain women and their criminal actions are a result of this.

The purpose of this study was to use Alberta data in an effort to test some of the notions in the literature. Previous mention has been made of the necessary caution in making general conclusive statements inferred from a single data source. That is, these findings for women in Alberta cannot be extrapolated to other provinces, the nation as a whole, or to other time periods (Mukherjee and Fitzgerald, 1978). If possible for future research it would be worthwhile to do a similar analyses for each province and compare results.

In sum, the "official statistics" illustrate a noticeable increase only for the crimes of theft under \$200 (generally shoplifting) and, to a lesser degree fraud. The indications for the assault category are nullified when one recognizes that, in having such a small number to begin with, a slight increase on the part of women will cause the proportion of male to female offences to decrease.

In terms of the hypotheses then, both must be rejected in relation to the categories of: all crimes, violent crimes, violent and property crimes combined, and property crimes. Only for the offences of theft under \$200 and fraud can the first hypothesis be accepted.

In the case of the interviews, it is apparent that these are the women who are apprehended and institutionalized most often. One must be careful, however, in assuming that these women are a representative sample of women who commit crime. A certain number of women criminals

are never caught; of those who are, an even smaller number are charged and convicted, and of those convicted still fewer are institutionalized.

In that the women who are institutionalized tend toward "conservative" orientations (as opposed to "liberated") and indicate that they perceive a low degree of control over their lives, and low status in their roles as women, it could be inferred that they have not experienced "expanded psychological consciousness." In view of their occupations on the "outside" one would again suggest that they are not "liberated" - at least in the formal social realm. While many express a desire for change in their lives, or a greater degree of independence, they also reveal their dependence on men and a paucity of alternative lifestyles available to them; their education and job skills are low and their opportunities for enrichment are perceived to be poor. The interview data then, provide both insight into, and support for the "official" data. The latter is the only available representation of all of the offences committed by women, while the former accounts for those women who are continually in these official counts - as well as those apprehended for commission of the most serious crimes.

Further conclusions regarding both sources of data used in this study in relation to the masculinization or role validation models cannot be made without data demonstrating the stability or instability of the status of Alberta's women over the same time period; such data would be required to illustrate the change in the status of native women and lower class women especially. This could be a valuable piece of research.

From the data used here, it seems that two possible conclusions can be established. First, it is possible that the women's rights movement has not yet had the time to demonstrate its effects in the

world of female criminality in Alberta. If the movement has not yet been able to permeate our society to the degree that its followers would suggest then opportunities for women to commit a wider variety of crimes may simply not be available at this time. If such is the case we would certainly be in error to conclude that Adlers' theoretical statement is wrong at this point; time and further research may or may not prove her correct in Alberta.

If on the other hand, the "emancipation" of women has taken effect in Alberta for a number of years, we can conclude that - at least for Alberta - Adler's hypotheses cannot be accepted, but the role validation model is more tenable. That is, women continue to commit crimes in conjunction with their traditionally ascribed sex roles for various reasons. Some of these reasons may be that, while the employment and formal educational opportunities have increased for women, the informal education (Hoffman-Bustemante, 1973) and opportunities (Hagan, Simpson and Gillis, 1978) necessary for an increased variety and frequency of illegal behavior on the part of women may not yet have altered to the degree necessary for this change in criminal behavior to occur. If this is so, then one would have to ammend Adler's conclusion to include the concept that not only is emancipation in the formal social realm required but this effect must carry over to the informal social arena before the predicted changes in female criminal behavior will be manifest - until then, the role validation model will continue to explain more about female criminality than the masculinization.

The general conclusion of the research is that, at best a negative relationship may exist between the "emancipation" of women and female

criminal behavior. That is, it can be said that it serves to lengthen the distance between real opportunity and many initially underemployed, undereducated women. This, of course, is based upon the assumption that opportunities are increasing in formal realms for other women.

This research then, based on Alberta data, provides support for the role validation theory of female criminality. Even after the effects of the women's rights movement can reasonably be expected to have come about, women in Alberta have continued to commit crimes limited both in frequency and nature; their criminal behavior still corresponds to their traditional female role. Those increases which are evident may be explained by the "general" increase in crime, or a slight decrease in informal control on women, or a perceived economic need to commit the crimes.

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